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RUBENS

HELEN FOURMENT AND HER FIRST-BORN

MUNICH.

RUBENS

By

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WITH 484 PLATES

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The Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttgart, has supplied the greater number of the blocks.

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RUBENS

INTRODUCTORY

HORACE WALPOLE, in his *Anecdotes of Painting*, complains that one cannot write a life of Rubens without transcribing twenty authors. If this was the case in the eighteenth century, how vastly more overwhelming is the material at the present day! Just as Rubens was himself the most prolific of all painters, so around him there has gathered a mass of material greater probably than in the case of any other artist. For three generations and more the archivists of his native land have been accumulating document upon document, each of which contains some reference—very slight indeed and trivial at times—to the great artist, or at least to his family and surroundings. In this search the archives, not only of his native country, but of Spain, England, France, and of many Italian towns have been ransacked. Nor is the material even yet all before the public. It is now many years since the late M. Ruelens, with the assistance of a grant from the Belgian Government, began in the *Codex Diplomaticus Rubenianus* the systematic reproduction of every surviving letter written by or to Rubens, or in which his name is mentioned. But Ruelens at his death had only advanced to the year 1608. The task was then taken up by M. Max Rooses, and with the fifth, the last of the great volumes so far published, we are taken down to the year 1631.

I intend in the first part of this work to confine myself to a rapid narrative of Rubens's life. I shall here only be concerned incidentally with his artistic production. This course will be all the easier, seeing that amid the vast documentary material which, as I have said, is now at hand, a comparatively small amount is concerned with Rubens's pictures. The ground once cleared, and the reader in some degree familiar with the life-history and surroundings of the great artist, it will be easier to follow, in more or less chronological order, the prodigious outturn of nearly fifty years of almost uninterrupted work.

Now, in the case of Rubens, as in that of other successful painters, the choice of subject—including both what was demanded of the artist, and what of his own free will he himself selected—was in the main determined by the *milieu*, political, religious, and social, in which he passed his life. To understand, then, the *direction* given to Rubens's brush, one cannot know too much of the political and religious history of the day, not only in the Low Countries, but in Spain, in France, and in a less degree in England and in Italy. But far otherwise is it when the purely artistic side of a great painter's career has to be considered. The first duty of the critical biographer is now on the one hand, to eliminate all that is merely the outcome of local or temporary circumstances—what is, in fact, from this point of view, incidental—and on the other hand, to dwell upon those individual and exceptional gifts that distinguish the artist in question, as a great handler of the brush, from all his contemporaries. In the case of Rubens, when addressing an English audience, this course is all the more necessary, seeing that with us in England there has always been a tendency to ignore the fundamental artistic capacity and the creative gifts of a painter, and to dwell rather upon the incidents treated by him,—above all, upon the moral and religious bearings of his work. How many are repelled from Rubens's pictures by a want of interest in the subject, by an intuitive antipathy to the rhetorical spirit that so often informs them, forgetting that all this is but a reflection of the world in which Rubens lived his busy life; such considerations may indeed throw much light upon the character of the man, but they are only indirectly connected with his art. It is with the painter whose brush we can follow in the expression of life and movement, the creator of a world of colour and light subtly rendered with an air of easy mastery, that we are above all concerned; what he selected to paint is of secondary consequence.

This it is indeed—so at least it seems to me—that makes the study of Rubens's life-work of more than usual importance to us. There should be in his case the less danger of our confusing the purely artistic with the literary or emotional elements of the artist's works, for the very reason that the latter elements make so little appeal to our sympathies. There is then the less excuse for us if we are led astray in our judgment by either the pathetic or the literary fallacy.

It is on this ground that I have determined in these preliminary chapters to keep my account of Rubens's life as far as possible clear of all criticism of his pictures. This course has no doubt its dis-

advantages; it involves a certain amount of repetition. At the same time, not only does the narrative proceed more briskly, but there is less danger of confusing what, to my mind, are two quite different things —on the one hand the material facts of an artistic life, and on the other the artistic spirit, genius, inspiration—call it what you will— the presence of which is ultimately the ground of his life's history being of interest to us.

PART I

CHAPTER I

Jan Rubens at Antwerp and Cologne—The Intrigue with Anna of Saxony—Antwerp under Spanish Rule—The Masters of Rubens.

THERE is every reason to believe that Peter Paul Rubens was born on the 28th of June 1577. His Christian names he doubtless owed to the fact that his birthday fell on the eve of the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul. Equally certain is it that he came into the world at the little town of Siegen in Nassau.

That Rubens should have been born far away from the city with which his name is so closely bound up—what other instance can we find of great painter and famous town so intimately associated?—has for years been a sad thorn in the flesh of all patriotic citizens of Antwerp. Many have been the expedients suggested, and ingenious the chronological combinations expounded, that would allow of the possibility of his mother having paid a flying visit to her old home at the time of the birth of her son. I am not sure that even now the hope may not be treasured up of some new discovery that may turn the tables again, and allow the citizens of Antwerp to claim the great artist as a citizen of their town in the strictest acceptation of the term.

For both the father and the mother of Rubens were born and bred in the old imperial city on the Scheldt. His father, Jan Rubens, was a learned man of the law, who had taken his degree *utriusque juris* in Rome as far back as 1554. He had become a member of the city council, and in the early sixties of the sixteenth century was doubtless regarded as a rising man, with every prospect of a distinguished career. But the ensuing years of Jan Rubens's life were destined to bring with them exile and disgrace—long periods of imprisonment, with the fear of sudden death more than once renewed.

Jan Rubens, in spite of his ability as a lawyer, was indeed a man of weak character, totally unfit to take a firm stand in the stern times that had now set in. When in 1566 the 'Gueux' gained the upper

hand in Antwerp, and when the extreme iconoclastic party proceeded to strip bare the churches of the city of their accumulated wealth of pictures, statues, and silver plate, the town council, who in the main were in sympathy with the reformers, offered but a nominal resistance. The next year the reaction came with Alva, and a reign of terror set in. Quietly and steadily the net was drawn round those who had in any way shown their sympathy with the late excesses. There is a tradition that one poor painter, when summoned to take the portrait of the Duke, was so impressed by what he heard and saw while tracing the features of the stern Spaniard that he went home, took to his bed, and died straightway—this at least is the story told of Willem Key, a man with leanings towards the new religion. It was the policy of Alva to hold the town council responsible for the excesses of the previous year. In September 1568 the burgomaster of Antwerp was decapitated. A few weeks later Jan Rubens with his wife and young children fled from their house.

The family found a new home in Cologne. But here too they were in a strongly Catholic centre, and the town council, who were indeed not a little embarrassed by the many refugees from the Spanish terror, on the plea that Dr. Rubens 'did not go to church,' requested him to leave the city. The learned ex-councillor, however, thanks, no doubt, to his abilities as a lawyer, had by this time found an influential protector, no other than Anna, wife of William of Orange, and daughter of that Maurice of Saxony who had played so important a part in the days of Charles v. Jan Rubens, then, was allowed to remain; his lapses from orthodoxy were overlooked. He devoted himself to prosecuting the claims of the Princess of Orange to part of her husband's property in the Netherlands that had been confiscated by Alva. Anna, who was already practically separated from her husband, was in person ill-favoured, and she was, it is said, given to drink. But before long a guilty intimacy sprung up between this abandoned woman and the weak, vain lawyer. The scandal came to the ears of Anna's brother-in-law John, the reigning Count of Nassau. Jan Rubens was seized, carried to Dillenburg, the old *Stammschloss* of the Nassau family, and here, probably under torture, an abject confession was extracted from the wretched man. It was some time before his wife, Maria Pypelincx, (in whose charge the two children of the Princess had been placed, and still remained), learnt the desperate position of her husband. Putting aside all resentment at his conduct, she set to work by prayers, by offers of money, and even by veiled threats of exposure, to obtain the

release of Jan Rubens, or, failing that, the repeal of the death sentence that hung over him.

It was the discovery, some years since, of the papers concerning this case among the archives of the house of Orange that for the first time threw light upon this previously obscure history, and fixed once for all the birthplace of Peter Paul Rubens. Among these papers were found the letters of Maria Pypelincx to her husband, and here we may discover the one bright point in this wretched and sordid story. We see in her not only a loving and forgiving wife, but a woman of ability, eminently practical by nature, one who, while leaving not a stone unturned in pleading for the pardon of her husband, was able amid all these troubles to keep together a home for her children.

Meantime the secret was well kept on both sides, and Maria maintained in public a tranquil air. 'It is a constant strain,' she confessed, 'to appear gay with death in my heart, but I do what is possible.' For two years every appeal made by the wife fell upon deaf ears, and Dr. Rubens was kept in strict confinement at Dillenburg. Then at length, in May 1573, the prison doors were opened, and he was permitted to take up his abode at Siegen with his wife; but even now he was little better than a prisoner in his house. Here, in this little German hill-town, were born to him two sons—first, in 1574, the learned but short-lived Philip; and then, in 1577, on the eve of the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, the great artist whose life we have to trace.

William of Orange had before this married again, not waiting for the death of Anna. The wretched woman was now treated as insane, and confined in an asylum, where she ended her life early in 1578. After her death permission was given to the Rubens family to return to Cologne. A tight hand was, however, kept on the caution money, and in September Dr. Rubens received a summons to return to Siegen. No reason can be assigned for this renewal of severity—perhaps it was merely a device to extract further payment from the unhappy family. There has been preserved an eloquent letter from Maria Pypelincx —it is significant that she and not her husband still appears as the protagonist in this correspondence—in which she joins protests to entreaties in her appeal to the Nassau brothers. Finally, in 1583, but only on abandoning to them part of the money that they had held by way of bail, a formal release was granted to Jan Rubens. Four years later he died. On his tomb—the inscription was doubtless dictated by his widow—he is described as having inhabited Cologne

for nineteen years: a pardonable mystification, upon which, however, the claim for that city as the birthplace of the great painter has mainly rested. It was for the church of St. Peter, where his father was buried, that Rubens, half a century later, painted the picture of the 'Crucifixion of St. Peter' that still hangs there over the high altar.

I have passed rapidly over this long, sad story of the life of Rubens's parents. For us the essential question is how far these events may have influenced the artist's opinions and character; they can have had no direct influence on his work. It is generally said that Rubens continued till his death in ignorance of the scandal concerning his father, but this, I think, is hardly possible. Every effort was doubtless made at the time—and this on both sides—to bury the whole history in oblivion, and to destroy all evidence that bore upon it. But the letters were, as we have seen, preserved, and various versions of the scandal seem to have been bruited about in Holland. Thus Constantin Huygens, a great name in the literary world of the time, mentions incidentally in a letter that the painter Rubens was the son of Anna of Saxony. Some of these reports can hardly have failed to reach the painter's ear. The very absence of all allusion by him to his early life[1] rather points to some desire on his part to pass a sponge over this German episode. What were the feelings of Maria Pypelincx with regard to the Nassau brothers may well be imagined. Both Philip and Peter Paul were baptized as Lutherans; but once freed from the hateful bondage, their mother lost no time in reconciling herself to the old religion. The stain of the unorthodox christening of her two sons—associated as it was with hateful memories of the past—had to be wiped out, together with all that had any bearing upon their birth beyond the Rhine. Rubens then, after his sixth year, was carefully educated as a Catholic, and henceforward all the influence of his home must have tended to estrange him from the faith in which he had been baptized.

There was now no reason for Maria Pypelincx remaining longer at Cologne. Reconciled not only nominally but now in all truth to the Catholic Church, she obtained at once from the authorities a document certifying to the entire propriety of her conduct during the years that, with her husband, she had been domiciled in the city. Whether the actual migration took place before the beginning of the year 1589 is, however, a point upon which there is conflicting evidence.

It was a time of storm and stress that the rich city of Antwerp had

[1] A passing mention in a letter of the fact that he spent the first ten years of his life in Cologne is the only exception to this of which I know.

passed through during the twenty years that had elapsed since the flight of Rubens's father. To the reign of terror of Alva had succeeded a period during which the party of the reformers maintained on the whole the upper hand, and this predominance was strengthened by the reaction that set in after the excesses committed by the foreign garrison of occupation during what is known as the Spanish Fury of 1576. Catholics and Protestants were now united against the hated foreigner, and the influence of the Prince of Orange was for a time supreme. In 1583 came that strange and futile attempt made by the Duc d'Alençon, the brother of the French king, to suppress the municipal government of the city, of which he was nominally the head, and there was again fighting in the streets. But meantime Alexander Farnese had been gradually drawing closer the net round Antwerp. After a skilful defence the city, in November 1585, surrendered to the great captain. With the surrender the period of strife and bloodshed, as far as Antwerp itself was concerned, came to an end. It is indeed remarkable that, although from this time for a further period of seventy-five years, there was, apart from the twelve years' truce, fighting in the Spanish Netherlands, first with the Dutch and then with the French, the tide of war barely reached the walls of the city. In the earlier period it had been far otherwise, and the Antwerp painters of the generation that preceded Rubens had had to bear the brunt of storms and sieges. Some of them, Martin de Vos for instance, had played an important part in the strife of parties. In the galleries at Antwerp and at Brussels the changing fortunes of this earlier time may be followed in many a crowded canvas.

What is most striking during the ensuing years—the years that followed the capture of the city by Farnese—is the general absence of strong political feeling in Antwerp. It was a period of languor and of moderate Catholic reaction. There was a gradual elimination of the Protestants—the more pronounced ones at least—they passed over to the United Provinces. But even amid the extreme Catholic party the spirit was a different one from that which prevailed at the time of Alva. Little is now heard of religious persecution. The town as a whole, however, was strongly Catholic, and one after the other the religious orders—Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Carmelites—established themselves in new and spacious convents, and re-occupied the churches that had been stripped bare at the time of the iconoclastic fury. This, as we shall see, was a movement that had an important bearing on the arts of the time—on the art of Rubens above all.

But if the Protestant party was finally broken up in Antwerp, there was for all that no love of the Spaniard. The garrison in the citadel was now intrenched as a little world apart. After the Spanish Fury the walls and the ramparts that divided the town from the citadel had been thrown down amid popular rejoicing—the work of demolition provided a favourite theme for the painters of the day. But after the siege and capture by Farnese, the citadel was again strongly fortified on the side of the city, from which it was divided by a wide, open space. In the course of Rubens's lifetime there were constant alarms of outbreaks—of renewals in fact of the Spanish Fury —on the part of the generally ill-paid Spanish soldiery.

During the first half of the seventeenth century, the burning questions ever present in the minds of the citizens of Antwerp were the prospects of peace, and with the peace the removal of the tight hand with which the Dutch held the mouth of the Scheldt, whereby the commerce of Antwerp was throttled. We shall see that Rubens himself was deeply interested in these questions, and that it was the problem of ensuring peace that led him, during the last twenty years of his life, to engage himself in those diplomatic toils that brought him more than one rebuff and so many bitter disappointments. The point to remember is, that while there was no Dutch party in the Belgic provinces at this time, there was little enthusiasm for the Spanish rule. As for those who sought at Brussels the favour of the Archdukes—of Albert and of Isabella—they were regarded by the members of the old aristocracy with some contempt. Rubens in this way exposed himself to the charge of subserviency to the Spaniards.

It is important to understand the position of these Archdukes, as they were called, who ruled in the Spanish Netherlands during the greater part of Rubens's lifetime. Philip II., shortly before his death, determined upon a change of policy in regard to what remained to him of his possessions in the Low Countries. He handed over the government to his favourite daughter, Isabella Clara Eugenia, as a nominally independent state, an independence, however, that the presence of the Spanish garrison rendered in a measure illusory. Isabella, before her departure from Spain, was married to her cousin Albert, ex-Cardinal and Archbishop of Toledo, by birth a Habsburg, and brother in fact to Rudolph the Emperor. Of both, it may be said that they compare favourably with their kin, the Habsburgs who ruled in Spain and Germany. They identified themselves, as far as they were able, with the wants of the people they governed; they were liberal

patrons of the arts, and in them Rubens, up to the times of their deaths, found ever kind and appreciative supporters. Albert died in 1621, and after that time Isabella became more than ever *dévote*. Like Rubens, her heart was set on the peace that neither of them lived to see, and this common aim was an additional bond of union between the two.

The life of Rubens during these early years at Antwerp—from say 1588 to his departure for Italy in 1600—must be pieced together as best we can from various sources, from the early biographies and from casual notices—all of them scanty and often contradictory; not a single letter of his survives from this time. The family, one account says, were in good circumstances, and his mother took a house in the Place de Meir, and this was Rubens's home up to his twenty-third year.[1] That he went to a school kept by one Rumoldus Verdonck, a learned Latinist (not a priest and a Jesuit as is sometimes said), we know from a chance reference in a letter written in afterdays by Balthazar Moretus to Philip Rubens, the elder brother. It was there, says the *Vita*,[2] 'that he completed the course of his studies.' The boy had doubtless already had a grounding in Latin grammar—everything was then taught through the medium of Latin—from his father while still at Cologne. He was both quick at learning languages and industrious, and made the most of this short interval of regular tuition. Much, too, he doubtless learned from the elder brother, the studious Philip; at this time they were both, it would seem, studying in view of a legal career—so at least Sandrart tells us. When in 1606 Maria Pypelincx made her will, she mentions in it that in 1590, on the occasion of the marriage of her daughter Blandina, her sons were both providing for themselves away from the house. We are told in the *Vita* that the younger had by this time 'been placed by his mother in the family of the Lady Marguerite de Ligne, widow of Philip, Count of Lalaing, where as a page he served for a space of time among the honorary attendants—

[1] Maria Pypelincx must have been originally possessed of considerable means of her own; as far back as the Siegen days her husband acknowledged a debt in her favour of 8000 dollars; there is evidence that at Antwerp, after her return, she parted with several parcels of land to provide for her family.

[2] This is the brief Latin life of Rubens that was drawn up in 1676 by his nephew Philip, at the request of the French painter Roger de Piles. The sketch, the author tells us, was based on the memoirs of Albert, the eldest son of the painter. Along with some further material from the same source, it was incorporated by De Piles in certain little essays on art that he wrote *à propos* of the gallery of the Duc de Richelieu, especially of the pictures by Rubens in that gallery. The *Vita* itself was found some years ago in three manuscript copies among a mass of papers relating to Rubens that had been accumulated by Jean François Mols (d. 1791), the earliest of the long line of Flemish writers who have devoted themselves to the study of Rubens. It was not published till 1837.

inter honorarios pueros, paigios vocamus, meruit.' Here, no doubt, Rubens learned to converse in French—a language, however, that he confesses that he never wrote with complete ease. But before long, continues his nephew, 'weary of court life, and compelled by his native genius to the study of painting, he begged earnestly of his mother—the resources of the family had by this time been reduced by the war—that he might enter as an apprentice the studio of the Antwerp painter, Adam van Noort.'

Philip in the *Vita* evidently thinks it necessary to offer something in the way of an apology for this procedure. Such a tone is indeed characteristic of the biography throughout. It is not so much the great painter as the scholar and the diplomatist that is dwelt upon. This is a point of view that has been adopted in other cases by the descendants of great artists, who have themselves, they hold, attained to a social level incompatible with the handling of a brush.

We are now arrived at the year 1591. Three brief years had intervened since the arrival of the family at Antwerp. It was during the nine years that followed that Rubens learnt his craft. He began, indeed, comparatively late, for he was already fourteen. There was, perhaps, at first some hesitation, some aim at a higher social position on the part of his mother. There is some vague evidence that an elder brother, Jean Baptiste, born as far back as 1562, had taken to painting and wandered off to Italy. Perhaps he had not done well; in any case we hear no more of him, and he probably died early.

I cannot here discuss at length the artistic relations or the merits of the three artists under whom in succession Rubens studied. The first selection was not perhaps a judicious one. Tobias Verhaeght was chosen probably by Rubens's mother. His wife was her cousin. Verhaeght was in 1591 quite a young man; he afterwards made some name as a landscape painter. He is not mentioned in the *Vita*, and Rubens cannot have remained long in his studio. Doubtless the fame of the *atelier* of Adam van Noort and the success of the pupils turned out by him made the young student, as he began to see his way in the world of art, eager to find a place in his studio. 'Under that master, during a term of four years, he laid the first foundation of his art.' Van Noort, by the old biographers of Rubens, but not by his actual contemporaries—van Mander and De Bie, for instance—has been depicted as the typical harsh, rough-mannered master, given to drink, and in every way difficult to get on with. The few pictures by him that are known to us belong to a later time; he indeed survived his great pupil,

dying in 1641, at the age of eighty-four. He represented, it would seem, the home-bred Flemish tradition in art, as opposed to the Italianisers, but even of this we cannot speak with certainty, so little do we know of his work. At any rate, from his studio came many distinguished painters—Van Balen, Sebastian Vranckx, and above all, Jacob Jordaens, who married his daughter.

For whatever cause, at the end of four years—this would probably be in 1596—Rubens migrated to the studio of Vaenius (Otto van Veen, 1558-1629), 'the first Belgian painter of that time,' says Philip in the *Vita*. Now this Otto van Veen was a man of gentle blood—his father had come as a Catholic refugee from Leiden. Vaenius, though now nearly forty years old, had only lately settled in Antwerp. In Italy he had been the pupil of Federigo Zuccaro, and had absorbed only too much of that artist's style. Essentially an Italianiser or Romanist (to use the term of the day), Vaenius's pictures are founded on the principle of selecting from the various schools of Italy what was then regarded as the most meritorious quality of each. The result in his case, in spite of some charm of colour, is deplorable; the point is of interest, as we must remember that the same course was for many subsequent years followed by Rubens. There are several of Vaenius's pictures in private collections in England, but he may be best studied in a series of huge, insipid compositions in the Antwerp gallery. More interesting than any of these is the ill-arranged earlier work in the Louvre, with portraits of his parents and other relations. Vaenius was a poet, a Latinist, and the author of a treatise on painting that has been lost. As early as 1594 he had been charged with the decoration of the town, on the occasion of the entry of the Archduke Ernest, and again in 1599 a similar task was allotted to him when, after the death of that worthless, drunken prince, his brother Albert, of whom I have already spoken, began his more successful rule. On this last occasion we can well believe that Rubens had a share in the work. Thirty-six years later, on the 'Happy Entry' of the Cardinal Infant Ferdinand, Rubens superintended, and in part designed, a still more magnificent pageant.

In the year 1598 Adam van Noort was one of the two deans of the artists' guild (the confraternity of St. Luke), and twelfth on the list of those that were registered that year as masters of the guild we find the name of Peter Rubens; this is the earliest record we have of him as a painter.

We are, however, singularly in the dark as to the years that preceded the Italian journey. An airy phrase in the *Vita* tells us 'how,

seeing that already it was reputed the master might have to yield to the pupil the palm of superiority, a strong impulse seized the latter to visit Italy that he might there behold the most famous works of the great artists of ancient and modern times, and direct his pencil by their guidance.' It is pleasant to know that there is no evidence of any jealousy of Rubens on the part of his master unless indeed something of the sort be hinted at in the above vague statement. Vaenius was a courtly gentleman; he already held the position of engineer-in-chief as well as that of court painter to the Archdukes; in later life he accepted the post of master to the Brussels mint. He was doubtless in a position to give his pupil invaluable advice as to his intended journey and probably the best of introductions. Rubens, it would seem, was already known to the new rulers; at any rate, a few years later, while the young painter was still in Italy, we find the Archduke Albert interesting himself in his progress. But beyond this there is no word of evidence as to Rubens's position at the time, nor any contemporary notice of the pictures painted by him.

CHAPTER II

The Italian Wanderjahre—Vincenzo, Duke of Mantua—Journey to the Spanish Court—Studies in Rome—Return to Antwerp.

PROVIDED with the indispensable passports from the Antwerp town council testifying that the city was free from plague and other diseases, Rubens set out on his Italian journey on the 11th of May 1600. Along with him travelled Deodato del Monte, a lad of eighteen, already described as his pupil, and of whom we are told that he was his master's constant companion in Italy and other parts of the world; we hear, however, nothing more of Deodato during Rubens's residence in Italy. Of the journey we have absolutely no record. Probably the pair took the well-trodden route that led by the Rhine to Mainz, then through Southern Germany to Augsburg and Innsbruck, and finally over the Brenner to Verona. I now turn again to the *Vita*—'Rubens, when he arrived at Venice, chanced to lodge in the same house with a noble Mantuan, one of the household of Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua and Montferrat. To him he showed certain pictures that he had painted. The Duke who was much interested in pictures and in works of art of every kind, took him straightway into his service, and attached him to his family; in this service Rubens remained for seven years.' This is a statement which, for want of any definite evidence to the contrary, we must accept. At the same time it must not be forgotten that the year before the departure of Rubens from Antwerp, the Duke Vincenzo had passed some days in that city (August 21 to 26, 1599), that he was a near relation of the Archdukes—they were indeed his cousins—and that Rubens had posted straightway to Venice, where he may have heard that Vincenzo was making a brief stay. The Duke, we know, arrived there on the 15th of July, and had left before the end of the month. Rubens then before the latter date must have already reached Venice.

The Duke Vincenzo, who was a Habsburg through his mother, after divorcing his first wife had married, in 1584, Eleonora, daughter of Francesco, Grand-Duke of Tuscany. Like his father-in-law, like too, his cousin, the Emperor Rudolph, Vincenzo was reckoned as a

patron of the arts and sciences. That is to say, on the one hand, he dabbled in alchemy and astrology; on the other, he carried on the family tradition as a collector of pictures. His special taste, it is stated, lay in the way of portraits of the most beautiful women of Italy, Spain, and France, and again of miraculous pictures of the Virgin. We remember Goethe's saying concerning *wunderthätige Bilder*, and may doubt whether the additions that the Duke made to the ancestral gallery were all of a very high artistic standard. At the same time Vincenzo was a genuine lover of music, and, what has brought him some meed of forgiveness for his many weaknesses, he had come forward at an early age as a protector of the unhappy Tasso. His most pronounced passion, however, was for the dice-box. He was, in late life, above all, a reckless and determined gambler—as a consequence, always out of pocket. From time to time he was seized with a desire for martial glory, and in 1601 went to fight against the Turks.

At Mantua Rubens found himself in a little art world. The famous pictures in the ducal gallery—rich above all in works of Titian—were destined not long after this to pass over to England; in 1629 the bulk of the collection was sold to Charles I. for £30,000. A few years later these pictures were dispersed to the four winds.

It is to be noted that apart from two unimportant pictures now at Dresden, there is no record of any work by Rubens among these paintings. Indeed, although, as we are told in the *Vita*, he passed the time of his residence in Italy nominally in the service of the Mantuan Duke, it is remarkable how little actual work Rubens completed for his master. He would appear to have steadily kept in mind the principle that during these *Wanderjahre* his first duty was the study of the works of the great Italian masters of the previous century. How vast was the number and how varied the sources of the copies and studies of these masters made at this time, we may judge from the catalogue of the pictures in his house at the time of his death, and from such a collection of drawings as that now in the Louvre. Rubens, it is true, painted many important works for various patrons while in Italy. This we shall see when we come to consider his artistic outturn; but we only have definite evidence of one commission from Vincenzo, the large picture, namely, of the 'Trinity,' and the two companion canvases, painted for the Jesuit Church at Mantua. He was in receipt from the Duke of a salary which, we know, was very irregularly paid. Any additional payment for work executed had probably to be indefinitely waited for.

RUBENS

Two names, as we now think of very unequal value in the world of art, are especially connected with the town of Mantua. In the latter half of the fifteenth century Mantegna had spent nearly fifty years of his long life in the service of the Gonzaga family (1459-1506). On the walls and ceilings of the huge palace of the Marquesses, his frescoes were then doubtless as fresh as when painted. What use Rubens (at a later time possibly) made of his sketches from the famous 'Triumph' we can see in the little picture now in the National Gallery (cf. pp. 94-95). A generation later, from 1525 to his death in 1546, Giulio Romano had ruled supreme at Mantua as engineer, architect, and painter. His spirit was everywhere in evidence in the city; at its best perhaps in the gigantic and somewhat exuberant frescoes in the Palazzo del Te. It was a spirit that was only too congenial to the Flemish artist.

Both Mantegna and Giulio had been enthusiastic collectors of antique marbles. Through them—Mantegna's collection had been sold by his son to the Gonzagas—and from other sources, a varied collection of Roman busts and reliefs, few probably of any great merit from our more critical point of view, had been brought together in the Ducal palace. No doubt the collection excited the admiration of Rubens, and added new zest to the eager desire to push on to Rome. Following in the steps of his learned brother Philip, he had already fallen under the spell of that phase of classical culture of which the chief exponent at that time was Lipsius, and whose greatest hero was the stoic Seneca.

I must now attempt to piece together, and to arrange in proper chronological order the principal events of Rubens's life during the eight years that he spent in the South. The materials are more abundant than in the previous period, but they are derived from the most various sources. We have strong light thrown here and there, but there are still many obscure and uncertain passages.

Let us, then, take as our text the paragraph in the *Vita* that follows that last quoted:—'Meantime Rubens made an excursion to Rome, where, in the church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, he painted two pictures at the command of His Serene Highness Prince Albert of Austria, who had in past days been Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church under that title.' But before this Rubens (as we know from an allusion in the later correspondence with Peiresc) had visited Florence, in the suite, no doubt, of his master the Duke Vincenzo. This was in October 1600, and the occasion was the marriage (by

procuration) of Henry IV. of France with Maria de' Medici, daughter of the Grand-duke Francesco, and sister to Eleonora, Duchess of Mantua. Frans Pourbus, the younger, was also of the suite of the Gonzaga—he was indeed in Vincenzo's service during the same years as Rubens—but there is little evidence to show that there was any intimacy between the two Flemish painters.[1] It fell to Rubens, nearly a quarter of a century later, to make this marriage the subject of a huge canvas. Among the pictures of the famous series that records the troubled life of the French Queen, this is indeed the only example where the incident represented had been witnessed by the painter.

It was not until July 1601 that Rubens was able to make that visit to Rome to which he had so long looked forward. The restless Vincenzo was about to start on an expedition against the Turks. Before leaving he provided Rubens with a letter to the Cardinal Montalto:—'The bearer of the present is Pietro Paulo, the Fleming, my painter, whom I dispatch to your parts that he may copy and carry out certain pictures, as Your Excellency will learn in greater detail from the painter himself. . . . This very evening I am about to set out for the city of Görz, on my way to the wars in Croatia.' (Dated Mantua, July 8, 1601.) To this letter the Cardinal straightway replied that he was prepared to help the 'Fiammingo' in whatever matters he was in need of in the service of the Duke. Note in these letters the expressions 'mio pittore,' 'per servitio di V. Altza'—they are important evidence of the position of Rubens. A little later Lelio Arigoni, the Duke's agent in Rome, writes that he has paid to 'the Flemish painter in the Duke's service' fifty scudi of the hundred due to him. This Arigoni, I may add, had many strange commissions to execute for the Duke—he had to find excuses when the Pope grumbled at the Duke's protection of the Jews in Mantua (he was already, no doubt, deeply in their debt), to report that the Cardinal Montalto was prepared to buy the secrets of an alchemist who was on the brink of the 'great projection,' or again, to notify the Duke of any important picture by Raphael or another that was in the market in Rome. In all probability Rubens on his departure had been charged with commissions connected with one or more of these matters.

Rubens, in any case, had plenty to occupy him on his arrival in the Holy City. There is a passage in the *Abrégé* of De Piles[2] which

[1] Philip, however, in a letter to his brother, dated Padua, December 1601, says:—'What has become of Pourbus, is he still living?'

[2] In this work the French artist supplemented the brief narrative of the *Vita* with further information derived from the younger Philip. (See note, p. 10.)

bears on this point. Rubens, we are told, was ever eager to gain experience from the many things that interested him:—'At times he copied them, at others he noted down his reflections, accompanying them with a rapid pen-sketch in a note-book that he always carried with him with this object.' What would one not give for a sight of one of these note-books!

At Rome the days passed rapidly away. His entry into the house of Cardinal Montalto would have brought him among the best artistic society in the city. The brilliant young Fleming doubtless made many friends, he may even at this early date have formed the acquaintance with Paul Bril and with the German Elsheimer that is alluded to by Sandrart.

I now come to the commission for the Archduke Albert mentioned in my last quotation from the *Vita*. On the 12th of January 1602, Arigoni writes to Chieppio, the principal minister of Vincenzo, to the effect that the agent of the Archduke in Rome had asked as a favour of the Duke of Mantua, that 'his Flemish painter' might be allowed to execute a picture destined for the church of Santa Croce. This, he says, would not delay his departure from Rome more than fifteen or twenty days. It was a commission that had some time previously been given to Rubens through the mediation of Jean Richardot, the agent in Rome of the Archdukes. Jean's father was President of the Council at Brussels, and Philip Rubens was at this time tutor to his younger brother. A few days later Richardot writes himself to Duke Vincenzo with the same object:—'This short delay,' he urges, 'cannot in any way prejudice the great and magnificent works, that, as I am informed, your Highness has commenced in Mantua.' This last passage would seem to point to some ambitious scheme of the Duke, in which Rubens was to take an important part—a scheme, at any rate, never carried out.

We know, too, that at this time Duke Vincenzo was maintaining an army of young copyists at Rome; they received from 15 to 18 florins for each work copied. Arigoni had instructions to take the opinion of the Fleming, the Duke's painter, 'that he might point out the most beautiful and precious works' worthy of reproduction.

Of the three pictures that Rubens executed for the church of Santa Croce I shall have to speak later. They are important as the earliest extant works by his hand that can be definitely dated. These pictures have finally found a home in a hospital at Grasse.

Even before the Roman journey, Rubens had probably travelled

in the service of the Duke. His brother Philip writes to him:—'I should be glad to hear what you think of Venice and of the other Italian towns, all of which you have visited.'

Meantime the elder brother had arrived in Italy with his young pupil Guillaume Richardot. If we are to judge of Philip from his letters, he was a narrow-minded pedant—I had almost said a prig—wedded to the old-fashioned learning of his master, the bigoted professor at the Louvain University. He speaks lightly of the learning of Italy:—'When one has tasted nectar with Justus Lipsius, the common wine of Padua has little attraction for one.' This of the university where Galileo was teaching at the time! Many of the letters that Philip wrote from Italy to his learned friends have been preserved, but the name of his brother the painter is not once mentioned in them. There is, however, a letter to Peter Paul, dated July 1602, in which he plays the part of Mentor and urges him not to continue in the service of the Duke. The letter is written in Latin, in the crabbed, enigmatic style so much admired at the time. He knows, he says, the easy temper of his brother, and how difficult it is to refuse the humours of a prince. There can be no doubt of the influence of the quasi-classical, quasi-devotional teaching that Philip brought back from the Louvain University upon the mind of the younger brother, and although this pedantic spirit could make no lasting impression upon the healthy and exuberant nature of the young artist, we must recognise the part that this teaching played, if not in the management of Rubens's brush, at least in the choice of his subjects. We ought indeed to know something of the teaching of Lipsius, and of his devoted scholars—Philip Rubens, Woverius, and Balthazar Moretus—to understand the direction taken by Rubens's talent during these early years. In a small group of pictures to be attributed to this time, the connecting link may be found in the exaltation of the philosopher Seneca and of his interpreter, the solemn professor at Louvain. Indeed, the cult of that now discredited tragedian and Stoic was closely connected with the memory of Justus Lipsius, one of whose last literary tasks had been to edit his works. A bust that then passed as Seneca appears in more than one of Rubens's compositions. He painted, too, at this time, a picture of the dying philosopher, founded on a statue (in truth that of an old fisherman) which is now in the Louvre. It was Philip probably who inspired these works. (See p. 91.)

We can well imagine that Philip Rubens had no true understanding of his brother's character. He no doubt really feared the influence

upon him of the low moral atmosphere of the Mantuan Court. But, apart from the commanding genius that now began to assert itself, the nature of Rubens was no weak one. Under an affable bearing and an easy, engaging manner, there lurked a strong will, a power of organisation, and a love of enterprise. And now an occasion presented itself for giving a fuller play to the practical energies of the man.

To return to our text—the authoritative *Vita*—'Soon after this [*i.e.* after the completion of the pictures for Santa Croce], Rubens was dispatched to Spain by the Mantuan Duke, that he might present to the Catholic King, Philip IV. [*sic*—it was the third Philip of course] a most exquisite carriage and seven horses of the best breed.'

I have no space to dwell upon the political aspects of this mission —upon Vincenzo's relations to his more powerful contemporaries. M. Ruelens, in his annotation to the *Codex*, has taken much pains to unravel the tangled politics of the time. Suffice to say, there was a new King in Spain, and, what was still more important, a new minister, all-powerful and grasping, who had to be propitiated. Rubens's part was indeed but a humble one; but, beside the responsibility for the safe delivery of the gifts, he had artistic commissions similar to those that he had lately carried out for the Duke in Rome and in other Italian towns.

On the 5th of March 1603, the strange cavalcade left Mantua under the charge of the young Fleming. A few days later Rubens writes to Chieppio 'a long and troublesome letter'—so he himself calls it—full of complaints of muleteers and of heavy tolls. It is signed 'Pietro Paulo Ruebens,' and is the earliest letter of the master that has come down to us.

There were among the presents under the charge of Rubens, besides the carriage and horses mentioned in the *Vita*, crystal vases, richly decorated, and a number of copies of the most famous pictures of Raphael and Titian—these for the new minister, the Duke of Lerma, who had pretensions to be a connoisseur in art matters, as well as for other influential favourites. But it was the 'carrozzino,' borne over the hills on a sledge by oxen, that gave the most trouble. At Livorno, after many delays, Rubens found passage for Alicante, whence there was a long journey, with many a mountain-pass to climb and many a river to cross, before the much harassed and travel-stained young painter reached Valladolid, where the court was then staying. It was now the duty of Iberti, Vincenzo's agent at the Spanish court, to look after the delivery of the presents, and meantime to provide 'the Fleming' with

some money that he might be suitably clothed when he presented himself before the King and the great minister.

The first task that fell to Rubens was to repair the damage done to the Italian pictures during the long, rough journey. Of the Spanish artists at first engaged for this work he had but a poor opinion; they were vain and idle, he declares, and their method of work lagged behind the Italian fashion of the day—it was, above all, different from his own. A 'St. Jerome'—a copy after Quentin Massys—and a portrait of the Duke by Pourbus, alone remained undamaged. Rubens, under cover of polite phrases, adopts a very independent tone in writing to Chieppio; he will not have his work confused with that of others. He sets to work at once and paints two life-sized figures of the philosophers Heraclitus and Democritus to replace those of the Italian pictures that were irreparably damaged. These letters that Rubens wrote from Spain to the Duke and to his chief secretary are perhaps the most remarkable that have survived. There is in them less of that wearisome, seventeenth-century phrasing and conventionality that detract from the interest of so much of his subsequent correspondence. To Chieppio he complains that Iberti, the Mantuan Resident, had not introduced him to the King. It is evident that Iberti did his best to keep the young Fleming in the background.

We have, in a letter written home by the Resident, a description of the inspection of the pictures by the Duke of Lerma that recalls a scene from *Gil Blas*. The Duke regarded them, he says, as originals by Raphael and Titian, and this belief called forth no disclaimer. Perhaps, after all, the appreciation was only a piece of courtly pretence on the part of the Duke—the laugh may not have been all on one side.

Rubens on his way out had found time for a passing glance at the Titians and Raphaels, both in the palace at Madrid[1] and in the Escorial, and during the weary months of waiting at Valladolid he painted several pictures, some of them for the Duke of Lerma. Vincenzo's plan was that he should pass on to the French Court, to add to the series of contemporary beauties, no doubt. But this did not fall in with the plans of Rubens, for he had not yet completed his study of the Italian masters. Among the reasons that he urged against the proposal was one that gives proof of considerable *aplomb* on the part of the young painter. In a letter to Chieppio, that was meant no doubt to be seen

[1] At Madrid at that very time was Cervantes, with the manuscript of his *Don Quixote* in his pocket, searching in vain for a publisher.

by the Duke, he says: 'The French, your Excellency can take my word, are not behind hand in *curiosità* to any others—they have, above all, a king and a queen no strangers to that art. Proof of this may be seen in the many great works that remain incomplete, *inopiâ operariorum*.' The French, he knew for certain, had been in search of capable men, not only in Flanders and at Florence, but even (on false information) in Savoy and in Spain.[1] Let the Duke get his portraits from some painter at the French court. . . . Rubens hints that his time is too valuable and his aims too high for him to waste his days on such tasks. Let him be given some work more appropriate to his talents (*Codex* I. 225). The whole letter, indeed, is well worth careful perusal. It throws abundant light on the character of the young artist as well as on his position at this time.

We are quite in the dark as to the date of Rubens's return from Spain, but a copy of elegiac verses addressed by his brother Philip, *Ad Petrum Paulum Rubensium navigantem*, was, we know, printed some time in the winter of 1603-4. This is a tiresome rhapsody, full to repletion of the stalest classical allusions, and from it practically nothing is to be gleaned.

For a period of nearly two years there is now, as far as documentary evidence is concerned, a blank in the life of Rubens. At best one brief *Commissione Ducale*, dated 2nd June 1604, informs us that 'S^{r} Pietro Paulo Rubens, pittore Fiammingo' was to receive a quarterly payment of 100 ducats from the Duke's treasury. In August of the same year, Eleonora of Austria, the mother of Vincenzo, died. The modest chapel of the Trinity, in the Jesuit church at Mantua, that she had chosen as her burial-place, was magnificently restored by her son, and Rubens received a commission to paint three large pictures to be placed above her tomb. It is noteworthy—and this is a point I have already dwelt upon—that we have in these pictures the only important commission for original work that, as far as we know, Rubens executed for his master during the eight long years of nominal servitude. Rubens, we have seen, objected to be employed in painting portraits: this commission, then, may be regarded as a compromise. The Gonzaga family —three generations in fact—are all there, but they form part of a grand theological *mise-en-scène* that gave full scope to the ambitious brush of the painter. About the same time the Duke employed 'his Fleming' in copying two important pictures by Correggio that were in his

[1] The implication is, no doubt, that if he went to the French Court he might find it difficult to get away again.

gallery. This latter task may have had some influence on the execution of the Gonzaga canvases. The copies were sent as presents to the Emperor Rudolph.

The end of the year 1605 found Rubens again in Rome, this time in company with his elder brother. They lodged together in the Via della Croce, below the Pincian Hill, then as now the favourite quarter of foreign artists. Justus Lipsius was on his death-bed (he died in May 1606). It had been his wish that Philip should succeed him in the chair at Louvain. But for some reason, not now clear, the favourite pupil preferred to find a post as librarian in the service of the Colonna family. A large correspondence addressed to him at this time by his learned friends in the north has been preserved; many of the letters are directed under cover to 'Pietro Paulo'—this, it appears, for 'political' reasons—but no single mention of the rising artist is to be found in any of them.

As for Peter Paul himself, we may look upon this second visit to Rome as above all a time of classical study and of drawing from the antique. It was then probably that he collected the examples of Roman sculpture that he carried back with him to Antwerp. Rubens's rendering of the antique is essentially *baroque* in character. He helped to form that *seicento* style that a few years later found its fullest expression in the work of Bernini. At Rome many famous examples of antique sculpture were turning up from time to time, but Rubens seems to have been chiefly interested in the minor reliefs, above all, in the iconography of the Emperors. Some of the plates in a learned work (*Electrorum Libri* IV.) that Philip published on his return to Antwerp were prepared from drawings by his brother. These studies from the antique—for the most part singularly uninteresting—remained in the artist's possession till his death; the bulk of them are now in the Louvre.

Everything, even the Catholic religion, was seen through classical spectacles. Lipsius, a Catholic of the extreme party, who had lately published a work on the Miracles of our Lady of Hal, is the typical representative of this strange phase of devotion which now, through Philip, had filtered down to Peter Paul. But the devotional aspect was less prominent in the case of the painter. In the main he accepted his religion as part of his social surrounding—the classical framework, on the other hand, is everywhere prominent. When Rubens had to make an honorary gift to the doctor who attended him when ill at Rome with the pleurisy, it took the form of 'an offering of a cock to

Aesculapius'—a picture of a cock to wit (now at Aix-la-Chapelle) was presented, together with his portrait, to the German physician (see p. 93).

I think that there is evidence that Rubens was, during his residence in Rome, pursuing some definite course of study. Writing in July 1606 to Chieppio, whom he addresses as 'patrone mio,' he pleads for the prompt payment of his salary 'so that I may continue my studies without procuring the means of living from other sources, which I should have no difficulty in finding in Rome.' He means by this, no doubt, that he had been offered commissions for pictures. In the end, as the next letter to the 'primo secretario' of the Duke proves—this is dated six months later—Rubens undertook an important commission for the Chiesa Nuova. This task he pleads 'after being occupied all the summer with my art studies (*nei studij dell'Arti*) I have been forced to accept of sheer necessity, not being able to maintain a house with two servants for a year in Rome with the 140 ducats that I have received from Mantua since my departure.' The point to note is that Rubens, who was now summoned back to Mantua, had so far concealed that he was working for others. Although there is nothing said of any work for the Duke, this was apparently in contravention of his agreement.

But why should the Duke pay this handsome salary merely to allow a painter, no novice in his craft, to pursue his studies in Rome? These 'studij dell' Arti' must, I think, have been directed to some definite object, and the Duke was to be in some way a gainer by them. In this letter of cajolery—for that is the general tone of it—Rubens promises that, if the matter is really pressing, he will go back at once, provided that the Duke will give him his word as a prince that he shall be allowed to return to Rome in the spring, to carry out the commission for the Chiesa Nuova. Both these letters, M. Ruelens thinks, are in the handwriting of Philip, the signature only, 'Pietro Paulo Rubenio,' being by the artist. The appeal was successful; 'let Pietro Paulo,' so the Duke writes a few days later, 'remain three months longer in Rome. Let him know that we are not unwilling to fall in with his desires'—(December 1606).

The great church founded by San Filippo Neri, the Chiesa Nuova as it was commonly called, was only recently completed. It was among the most magnificent and most fashionable in Rome. The old church had already obtained possession of a miracle-working picture that had been removed to it from a neighbouring street corner. This

picture—a *tondo* of the Virgin—was now to form the centre of an ambitious canvas with many saints by the hand of Rubens. Six months had elapsed instead of the three granted, when in June 1607, Rubens received a further summons, this time to accompany the Duke on a contemplated visit to Spa, the oldest of northern watering-places. The picture was already finished, but the ceremony of placing the miraculous *tondo* in its new position could not yet be arranged. On this occasion, however, Rubens had to comply, but instead of the distant watering-place, the wayward Duke contented himself with a simple *villeggiatura* on the Genoese coast. The change was probably a disappointment to Rubens. Already in April news had arrived of the serious illness of his mother, and Philip had hurried back to Antwerp. The younger brother, in spite of his engagements in Rome, would naturally rejoice at an opportunity for visiting his home.

During the two summer months spent in Genoa,[1] Rubens lost no time in forming a circle of acquaintances among the art-loving nobility of the town — it was a *clientèle* that brought him many important commissions both at this time and in the ensuing years. He was able also to collect materials for a work on the Palaces of Genoa, published many years later (1622). Of Rubens as an architect I have left myself no space to say anything. I may mention, however, that his main object in this work was to introduce at Antwerp a type of building, half palace, half town-house, suitable for the streets of a large city. He notes especially that in the palaces of Genoa the central court of the typical Roman palace is replaced by an entrance hall leading to a stately staircase.

It was at this time, or a little later, that the Archduke Albert wrote to Vincenzo, requesting leave of absence on behalf of his 'vassal,' 'that he might arrange certain personal affairs.' This request met with a polite but firm refusal. 'Rubens,' says the Duke, 'has served me for several years to our mutual satisfaction—he has no desire to leave Italy.' No explanation has been forthcoming for this move on the part of Albert, but I think that it was probably instigated by Philip, who, as we have seen, regarded with some anxiety the long-continued connection of his brother with the Mantuan court.

Meantime the presence of Rubens at Rome was claimed by the

[1] It is not unlikely that he may have visited the town at an earlier date. Bellori speaks of his spending much time there. In a letter to Dupuy, Rubens mentions that he had been several times to Genoa.

Cardinal Borghese. This was his third and last visit to the Holy City. There was a hitch with regard to the picture that he had painted for the Chiesa Nuova. The lighting was so deplorable that all its superlative beauties were lost. He must make a replica on stone or some other material that absorbs the colour. So at least says Rubens in a dispatch that he sent off to Chieppio (2nd February 1608). This is essentially what I may call a wheedling letter—Could not his master take the original picture at a greatly reduced price? The work, he declares, is remarkable for the size and variety of the figures —old men, youths and ladies, all richly robed, and these figures have no attributes that would not be suitable to any other saints of the same rank! One is almost glad to hear that this time Rubens did not gain his point. The Chiesa Nuova canvas had to be carried back with him to Antwerp to find ultimately a place over his mother's tomb in the old Abbey of St. Michel.

The next letter of Rubens to Chieppio (23rd February 1608) is written in an almost openly sarcastic tone. He contrasts the reckless extravagance of the Duke's manner of life with the delay in discharging the comparatively small sums due to him for pension and artistic commissions, and this letter brings the correspondence to an end. Apart, at least, from the brief note quoted below, nothing further relating to 'the Fleming' has been found among the Mantuan archives. Rubens was discontented and was becoming restive. The Duke was occupied with other matters; in the course of the summer he set out without his Flemish painter, on the long postponed visit to Spa, whence he proceeded to Brussels and Antwerp.[1]

And now we come to Rubens's last letter from Rome. On the 28th of October he addressed to Chieppio a hastily-written note, endorsed, by the side of the signature with the words *Salendo a cavallo*—'with foot in stirrup.' He had received, he says, information that his mother was dying, there is no time to obtain leave from the Duke, at the best he may intercept him on his journey north. He leaves his picture in the Chiesa Nuova finished, but not yet exposed to public view. 'Make

[1] Of Duke Vincenzo's life when in the Low Countries we have full details, especially of his gambling transactions. At Antwerp he lost 7000 philippics in play with the Spanish governor of the citadel. A curious story of the pawning of a jewelled sword and of some diamonds is given by M. Ruelens in the *Codex* (I. p. 133 *seq.*). But among all these documents there is no word of the Rubens family. This rather confirms my theory that it was Philip who was the main instigator of his brother's breach with Vincenzo. His action in this matter may perhaps have reached the ear of the Duke.

my excuse to the Duchess that I cannot pass through Mantua, I take the direct road with every diligence.'

But of the homeward route taken by Rubens we know as little as of that of the journey out. He flew, says the *Vita*, '*citatis equis*,' and we know that he covered the distance—about a thousand miles—in little over five weeks.

CHAPTER III

Antwerp in the Seventeenth Century—Rubens and the Archdukes — His Marriage to Isabella Brant—The New House—Organisation of the Studio—Daily Life of Rubens.

WHEN Rubens, on the 11th of December 1608, reached Antwerp, his mother was already dead. He had been absent for eight years and seven months. He now settled down with his brother in the house in the Rue St. Michel, where his mother had for some years resided.

There was at this time a lull in the fighting in the Low Countries. An armistice had been arranged, preparatory to the twelve years' truce that was signed in 1609. Ambrogio Spinola, in later days the intimate friend of Rubens, had upheld the Spanish arms with some success during the years that the artist had spent in Italy. Thanks not only to his military genius, but also to the huge private fortune (he came of a family of rich Genoese merchants) that he had devoted to the cause, the Dutch had been practically driven out of the Spanish Netherlands. But the trade of Antwerp was gone. At the entry of the Scheldt all imports had now to be transferred to Dutch boats, and by these carried to the fleet stationed at Lillo, there to be examined by the enemy and taxed; the goods were finally carried to Antwerp in river barges. Dudley Carleton, the English minister at the Hague, who visited Antwerp at this time, was impressed by the decayed appearance of the town; the grass, he says, was growing in the streets. 'Oh wretched Belgium,' cried Lipsius, shortly before his death, 'over whom there broods an adverse fate, and where misfortune dogs the step of misfortune!'

But in spite of all this, and notwithstanding the growing rivalry of Amsterdam, Antwerp remained for a time a great centre of exchange. It was still the most important mart in Europe, not only for pictures and for books—especially for books of devotion—but for all who wished to raise money on diamonds or on plate. There is one direction in which great activity was shown in the early years of the seventeenth century. The town, soon after its capture by Farnese, rapidly became

a Catholic centre. One after the other, the various Catholic orders—of this I have already spoken—came flocking back, some to consecrate again their deserted churches, swept bare during the ascendency of the Calvinists, others to found new religious establishments. The painters and sculptors now reaped a rich harvest. There was a constantly recurring demand for pictures and for sculpture to decorate the altars and walls of the churches, old and new.

Of the general aspect of Antwerp in the seventeenth century a very fair idea may be formed, not from the canvases of Rubens indeed, but from the many large panoramic views of his more topographically-minded contemporaries. The growth and prosperity of the town in the nineteenth century have led to the destruction of much that might carry us back to the day of Rubens. The cathedral indeed remains practically unchanged, but the two oldest of the city churches, those most associated with the early history of the town, have completely disappeared; St. Walburga, I mean, close by the Steen and the state landing-place, the church for which Rubens painted his 'Erection of the Cross,' and, a little higher up the river, the old Abbey of St. Michel, where his mother was buried, and close to which Rubens was now living. This abbey was a place quite apart in the town—here it was that royal guests were lodged and entertained. The site is now occupied by bonded warehouses and shipping agencies. Of the churches of the great religious orders, that of the Franciscans—the Récollets as they are locally termed—indeed still stands, though in an altered form; but the pictures by Rubens and Vandyke that Sir Joshua saw there have long ago found other homes. Of the great Jesuit church, built in Rubens's day, little but the apse and the façade remained after the fire of 1718. Only the church of St. Jacques, that great treasure-house of Flemish art, and St. Paul's, the church of the Dominican convent, still retain their seventeenth century aspect.

The years that followed Rubens's return to Antwerp were essentially a period of steady and continuous work. On the biographical side, apart from his marriage and the building of his house, there is little to say. Thanks, no doubt, to the position attained by his brother Philip, who was now one of the town secretaries, Rubens was received with open arms by the families that constituted what we may call the *haute bourgeoisie* of the city. To this society a certain distinction was given by the literary and scholarly tastes of not a few of its constituents. It was these tastes, or in a few cases the possession of exceptional artistic talent, that brought some of its members into contact with the

governing classes and with the aristocracy. But the line of demarcation was strictly held. Rubens, when in later life he attempted to cross it, exposed himself to more than one unpleasant rebuff.

'When, in the year 1609 [more accurately December 1608], Rubens returned to Belgium, the fame of his skill was already widely spread, and the rulers, Albert and Isabella, desired to be painted by him. So that, lest he should take his way back to Italy (whither he was enticed by the allurements of gigantic rewards) he was made a member of the household, and bound by fetters of gold.' This turgid passage from the *Vita* tells us a good deal. Rubens became at once court painter to the Archdukes with a salary of five hundred florins. These honours he shared with Otto Vaenius and Jan Breughel, both his good friends. The special duty of Rubens was to paint official portraits of their Highnesses; for other commissions it would seem that he received separate pay. The patent as 'peintre de l'hostel' is dated from September 1609, and a gold chain—are we to recognise in this the 'golden fetters' of the *Vita*?—accompanied the diploma. This position at court freed him from all 'imposts and assises,' and made him free of the harassing regulations by which the members of the Guild of St. Luke were bound. His pupils had no longer to be entered in the *liggeren* (the books of the Guild), and he had no dues to pay to that body. This exemption was no small advantage to the artist, but his biographers are by it deprived of a valuable source of information.

'Soon after this, Rubens was united in the bonds of matrimony with the daughter of John Brant, senator of Antwerp, and of Clara de Moy, whose sister had not long before been led to the altar by his elder brother Philip, one of the secretaries of the town of Antwerp.' Rubens was married in October 1609, immediately after the receipt of the honours from the Archdukes. John Brant, his wife's father, was a typical member of that cultured town aristocracy of which I have already spoken. He had held high civic honours, and was besides learned 'in both the tongues.' Isabella, his daughter, whom we know so well from the numerous portraits of her by her husband—she takes her place, too, in many a Holy Family, and again in more than one Bacchanalian scene—was then a girl of eighteen. Her rather homely look, with kindly eyes and archly-smiling mouth—the high cheek-bone is a characteristic north-Teutonic feature—agrees well with what we know of her character. She was a good wife to Rubens.

Little more than a year after this Rubens lost his elder brother

Philip; he was buried by the side of his mother in the Abbey of St. Michel. The portrait that Rubens painted for his tomb is now lost; it was perhaps the original of the head seen in the Pitti 'Philosophers'; —this last has indeed a 'posthumous' look (see p. 92). A few days after his death his widow gave birth to a son, to whom the burgomaster, Nicolas Rockox, was godfather. This was the younger Philip, in later years the compiler of the *Vita*. Rubens was now the sole survivor of seven children.

It was a busy time with the artist. In spite of the eager demand for his works during the latter years of his residence in Italy, he can then have had little opportunity of collecting together a definite school of followers. But once established in Antwerp, he rapidly gathered around him the band of pupils and assistants that his organising power soon converted into a disciplined army. What is perhaps the most extensive manufactory of pictures that the world has ever seen was now started on its prosperous career. From these years dates the rebirth of art in the Spanish Netherlands.

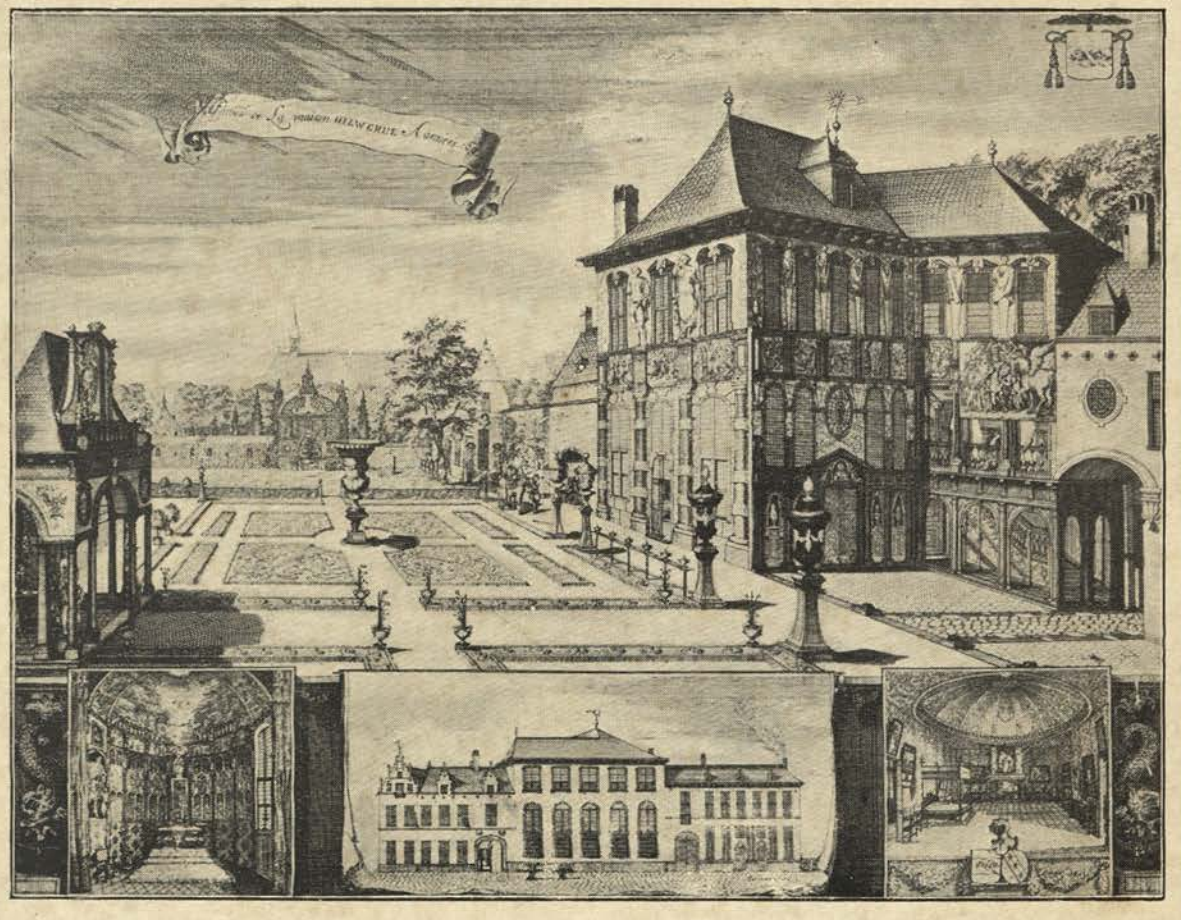
There has been preserved a letter from Rubens to Jacques de Brie, painter, picture-dealer, and spendthrift; it is in Flemish, and dated 11th May 1611, that is to say, little more than two years after his return from Italy. 'It is impossible,' says Rubens, 'for me to receive [as a pupil] the young man that you recommend; from all sides there are similar aspirants; there are some who remain for a year or more with other painters, while waiting for a vacancy in my studio.' Even a *protégé* of his 'friend and patron,' Nicolas Rockox, had to wait his turn. 'I can say sincerely,' he continues, 'without any exaggeration, that I have had to refuse more than a hundred, among them some belonging to my own and to my wife's family.' Nicolas Rockox, a man of Spanish descent, was a lifelong friend of Rubens. He held a prominent place among the mercantile aristocracy of Antwerp, and had served several times as burgomaster.

We are told in the *Vita* that Rubens, after his marriage, took up his abode in the residence of his father-in-law. This was in the same street as the house that he had lately shared with his brother. He can hardly have found room there for his constantly increasing establishment of pupils or for the huge works that he now undertook. Of the great 'Erection of the Cross,' we know that the painting was carried out in the church of Saint Walburga, for which the picture was destined. There were his collections, too, the marbles brought home from Italy and the pictures of many schools—he was constantly adding

to their number—that had to be housed. Early in 1611 Rubens bought a piece of land with some buildings, situated to the south of the Place de Meir, a district with many open spaces, orchards and convent gardens, divided by canals, very different from the maze of narrow streets with tall gabled houses in which he had hitherto lived. It was here, says the *Vita*, that he built for himself a spacious home 'in the Roman style, and adapted to the needs of his art. He planted, too, a wide-spreading garden with trees of every kind.' It was not till several years later that this property took its final form, to become the palatial dwelling that was so long one of the principal sights of Antwerp. For the next seven or eight years Rubens was busy scheming alterations and additions. He purchased the works of the great Italian writers on architecture, Vitruvius and Serlio and Scamozzi, and became to a great extent his own architect. For his army of pupils and assistants a temporary *atelier* was, no doubt, meantime fitted up.

For what we know of the final form taken by this complex of buildings we are indebted to two drawings by Jan van Croes that were engraved by Harrewyn in 1684 and 1692. A modest dwelling-house was already there; as for the new buildings, we can only speak with any certainty of the two façades to the north and east, facing the courtyard and garden respectively. In the engravings we see a series of tall, round-headed windows over a 'blind' basement, in which there were corresponding niches filled with busts of philosophers; here we have evidence of a large and lofty apartment within, and this was in all probability the main studio of the artist. But there were doubtless more than one of these studios. There would be first a large hall where his pictures were on view, this would be open, if not to the public, at least to all visitors of distinction; then one or more working *ateliers*, with panels and canvases in various stages of completion; finally a 'Holy of Holies,' reserved for the artist himself, where the pictures entirely by his own hand were carried forward.

There is a letter, written by Rubens in later days from his country residence, the Castle of Steen; it is addressed to the favourite pupil of his old age, Lucas Faid'herbe, who had charge of the town house during the master's absence. 'Take care,' he says, 'that before leaving everything is locked up, and that no originals, whether paintings or drawings, remain in the *Atelier*.' This is not much, and that this should be, as I think it is, the only reference to his studio in all the lengthy correspondence of Rubens, is in itself a significant fact.



RUBENS'S HOUSE AND GARDEN

(FROM THE ENGRAVING BY HARREWYN, 1632)

'Remind William the gardener,' he goes on, 'that he ought to send on from time to time the Rosalie pears and the figs as they are ripe, and any other good things.' We see by this that some practical use was made of the spacious town garden.

The new wing was approached by a handsome staircase open on one side to the court. It was connected with the older buildings by an open loggia, on the walls of which Rubens painted, probably in some kind of distemper, the most important of the series of designs with which the exterior of the new building was decorated. Here was the 'Andromeda,' apparently identical in composition with the picture now in Berlin. M. Rooses speaks of these paintings as true frescoes, and even finds traces of the hatchwork handling of the fresco-painter in the Berlin canvas. But this is surely open to doubt; there is no other record of Rubens having used that medium, one so unsuitable to an outdoor position in a northern climate.

Between court and garden, we are told by De Piles, Rubens built a 'rotunda,' a circular hall in imitation of the Pantheon, lit by an opening in the centre of the dome. This hall was constructed to hold the marbles that he had brought back from the South. To this collection, if we are to trust the *Vita*, Rubens was constantly adding, through his agents in various parts of Italy. But the principal addition came when he obtained by exchange the fine collection of Sir Dudley Carleton. This was in 1618, and was perhaps the occasion of the building of the lofty hall. His medals and gems were preserved, it would seem, in cabinets placed round the wall between the niches. De Piles says of the rotunda: 'Everything was arranged in order and symmetry; and this is why much that deserved to find a place there had to be relegated to other appartments.' The rotunda was after Rubens's death converted into a chapel. It was standing as late perhaps as 1840, but no trace of it now remains, and its very position is a matter of dispute.

Subsequent alterations have completely altered the character of the main building: the interior has been entirely remodelled, and in its present state there is nothing to remind us of Rubens. The façade to the right on entering the courtyard is indeed little changed; the metal ornaments and the *girouette* on the roof are still there, and in front of the loft there may still be seen the pulley that served to hoist the panels and canvases of Rubens's huge pictures. But what takes us back at once to the early days of the seventeenth century is the handsome portico with triple openings by which we pass to the garden, laid out with formal beds and stone vases; still more the little garden-house,

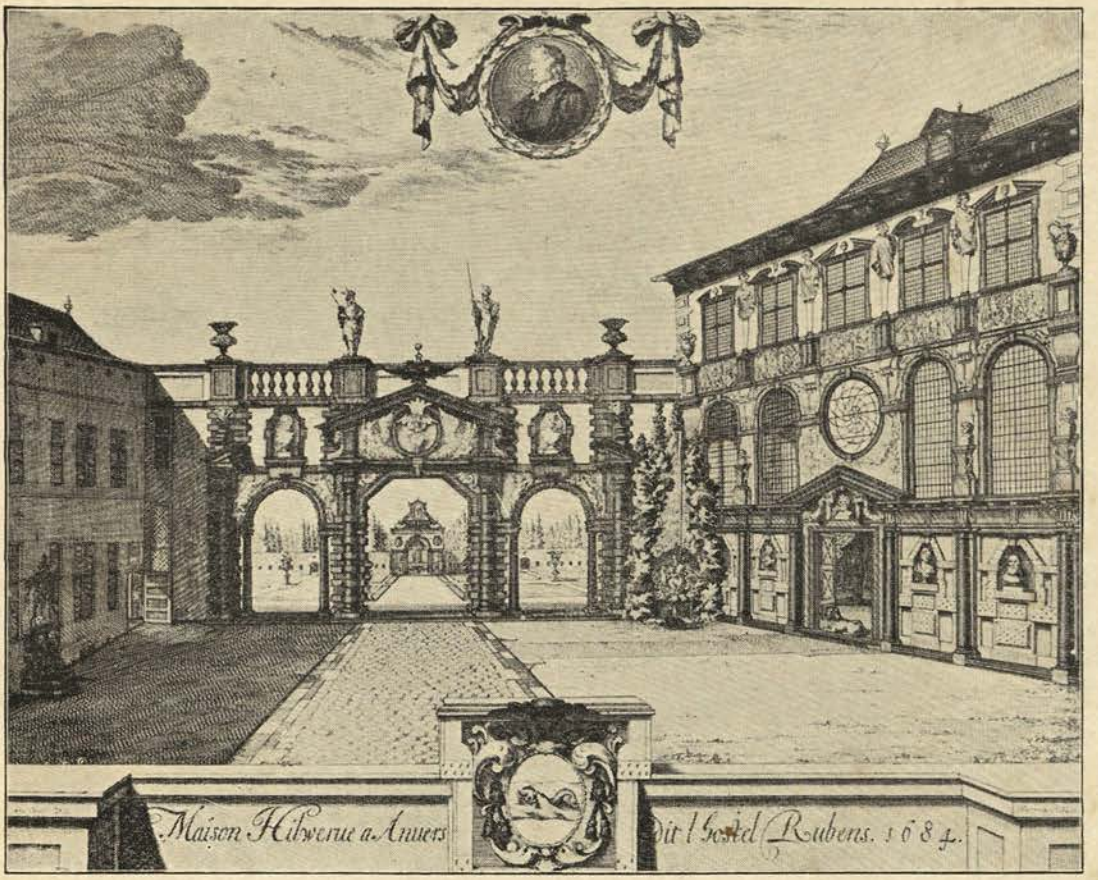
designed in the purest Rubensian style, a building that is carefully reproduced in the famous 'Morning Walk,' now at Munich. All this remains unchanged. Over the side entrances of the portico may still be read the lines from his favourite Juvenal, enforcing the doctrine that happiness was to be found in ordering one's life in accordance with the ruling of the gods, in preserving the calm supremacy of a sound mind in a sound body, free from wrath and desires, and careless of the terrors of death. The selection of this passage throws not a little light upon the philosophy of life that found favour with Rubens at this time. The ideal is a purely pagan one.

It was this pre-occupation of Rubens with his new house that more than anything else linked once for all his life and his art with the town of Antwerp. We are told in the *Vita* that it was the wish of the Archdukes that the young artist should settle in Brussels that they might profit by the charm of 'his acute intellect and his ingenious spirit,' but that Rubens found that the recurring demands of a life at Court would interfere with his 'Apellian studies.' Much of the time of Velazquez was, as we know, wasted in the fulfilment of his monotonous duties at the Court of Philip IV. Rubens in later life found time among many distracting diplomatic negotiations to turn out a continuous stream of paintings. Had he settled thus early in Brussels the loss to Antwerp would have been great; but with him the impulse to artistic production was so commanding that no mere change of surrounding could have had much influence upon his work.

From this time forth the home and garden of Rubens ranked along with the printing establishment of Moretus (the Plantin Press) among the principal sights of Antwerp. 'Happy above all is our town in its two citizens Rubens and Moretus. Strangers gaze at their houses, visitors to the town marvel at them.' So in 1620 writes Woverius, the scholarly friend of Rubens, to Moretus, the printer.

Commissions were now pouring in upon Rubens from every side. This is what the *Vita* says: 'In addition to the pictures that he carried out to be dispatched in every direction—for the Emperor, for the Catholic King [Philip III.], for the King of England, the King of Poland, for the Dukes of Bavaria and Neuburg, for the Bishop of Würzburg, and for other princes, he enriched almost every church in Belgium with examples of his art.'

And so for the next five-and-twenty years, as we shall see in later chapters, from the manufactory behind the Place de Meir, the great canvases and panels passed almost without interruption to all the



COURTYARD OF RUBENS'S HOUSE

(FROM THE ENGRAVING BY HARREWYN, 1684)

Catholic lands of Europe. Nay, several found their way to England, and more than one even into the hands of the heretic and hostile Dutch. The composition was in every picture that of Rubens, but the execution was in far the greater number of cases intrusted to one or other of his assistants. Yet before leaving the studio the master had added a few magic strokes that stamped his individuality upon the work.

The biographer of Rubens writing in the twentieth century has little chance of lighting upon even the most trifling event connected with the life of the artist that he can claim as a novelty. Not only has every known letter of the artist been published, but every mention of his name in the correspondence of contemporaries or in the literature of the time has been carefully noted. It was not, however, the fashion with the letter-writers of the seventeenth century to enter into anything like domestic detail—to do so would doubtless have been regarded as a sign of bad breeding. There is a chilly air of conventionality and an absence of 'intimacy' in all this correspondence. Thus it happens, that in spite of the long series of letters by or concerning Rubens to be found in the volumes of the *Codex*, we know little of his home life or of the direction of his studio. All the more precious then are the few brief notices concerning these, to us, all-important matters, that have been unearthed from the writings of contemporaries.

It was a happy inspiration that led the Danish physician, Otto Sperling, to preserve a careful record of a visit that he paid to the studio of Rubens in 1621. On entering the room, we found, says Sperling, the renowned artist listening to a passage from Tacitus that was read to him, and at the same time dictating a letter. 'While we remained silent lest we should disturb him by our remarks, he began himself to talk to us, at the same time continuing his work, listening to the reading and dictating his letter, answering meantime our questions, and thus showing his astounding faculties. After this we were conducted by one of his assistants through every part of the splendid mansion, where there were shown to us the Greek and Roman antiquities of which he possessed so large a collection.' Sperling visited among other apartments the rotunda, where he saw Rubens's pupils drawing from the antique. He dwells on the methods of preparation of the 'compound pictures' of the master. 'Thus it is that this man has collected an unprecedented fortune, and that princes and kings have loaded him with presents and jewels.'

Were we to look upon the account of this interview of the Danish doctor as formally exact, we could hardly avoid regarding Rubens as a deliberate *poseur*. But this is fortunately not necessary. Dr. Sperling, after the fashion of the time, has doubtless worked up his recollections into what he regarded as literary form. A somewhat similar story is indeed told of an earlier period. Duke Vincenzo, paying a surprise visit to the studio of his Flemish painter, found him reciting passages from Virgil while busily working with his brush.

More moderate is what we may call the family tradition on this point, as given by De Piles on the authority of his nephew Philip. 'Rubens,' we are told, 'while painting spoke without effort and without interrupting his work; he entered readily into conversation with those that came to see him.' While working at Paris on the Medici pictures, the Queen Mother 'was always behind him, as much charmed in hearing him discourse as in seeing him paint.'

Indeed, what Roger de Piles has to say of the daily life of Rubens, seeing that it is derived from the nephew of the artist, we may regard as equal to the best contemporary evidence. But first let me take his description of the man himself. It will supplement what we know of Rubens from his own rendering of his face and figure. I will not attempt to translate:—'Il avait la taille grande, le port majestüeux, le tour du visage régulièrement formé, les joües vermeilles, les cheveux châtains, les yeux brillans, mais d'un feu tempéré, l'air riant, doux et honnête. Son abord estoit engageant, son humeur commode, sa conversation aisée, son esprit vif et pénétrant, sa manière de parler posée et le ton de sa voix fort agréable; et tout cela le rendait naturellement éloquent et persüasif.' These are carefully chosen words and give a living picture of the man.

De Piles in a subsequent passage gives a brief sketch of the artist's daily régime: 'Though there seemed to be much distraction (*dissipation*) in his way of life, yet his habits were for all that very regular. He rose every morning at four, and made it a rule to begin his day by hearing mass, except when he was hindered by the gout, that incommoded him much. After that he fell to work, having always by him a reader, who was in his pay and who read some good books; Plutarch, very often, or Livy or Seneca. As he was devoted to his profession, he ordered his diet so as to be able to work with ease, and this is why he ate very little at dinner for fear lest the vapours of the meat should hinder the application to the work in hand or his application again should hinder the digestion of the meat. He painted thus up to five

in the evening, when he mounted his horse to take the air outside the town or upon the ramparts. At other times he would seek other relaxation for his mind. On his return from his promenade he would as a rule find in his house one or more of his friends who had come to sup with him, and who contributed to the pleasure of the table. He nevertheless held in great aversion any excess in drink or good cheer. His greatest pleasure was to mount some fair Spanish horse, to read in some book, or to pass in review the medals, the agates, cornelians and other engraved gems of which he had a fine collection (now in the cabinet of the King of Spain). As Rubens painted everything from nature, and as he had often occasion to paint horses, he kept in his stable some of the finest and the most suitable for the purpose.' Here I may mention that during the earlier Antwerp period, there were, as M. Rooses has pointed out, two beautiful animals—*genêts d'Espagne*, they would then be called—that served as models for numberless pictures. These are a dappled grey with flowing white mane, and a bay with a white patch on the forehead. The hand of the young Vandyke may be recognised in more than one of the renderings of these horses.

Rubens paid few visits himself. 'Il avait ses raisons pour cela,' says De Piles, who does not, however, tell us what these reasons were. But he never failed to visit the studios of his painter friends when they asked him to look at their pictures. He told them what he thought of their work with the goodness of a father, often going to the trouble of putting a touch on the canvas. He never blamed any work, and found elements of beauty in every style.

CHAPTER IV

Designs for Engravers—The Plantin-Moretus Press—The Bargain with Sir Dudley Carleton—Interest in Science and Archaeology—The Correspondence of Rubens—Rubens at Paris.

BUT there was another side of Rubens's busy life of which, so far, nothing has been said. I mean the work that he executed with the special object of reproduction by engraving.

The great artist living in princely style, whose boast it was that he was compelled by his native genius to undertake works of vast size depicting the loftiest and most ambitious subjects, was willing all through his life to execute, mostly for the engraver, endless little, highly-finished drawings, generally in pen and ink and wash. Nothing seemed to delight him more than the designing of elaborate allegorical frontispieces, but he was ready also to undertake the illustration of books treating on classical subjects, still more those of a devotional character.

Of the connection of Rubens with the engravers of his pictures there would be much to say. Here I can only mention that these engravings seem to have been in most cases made not directly from his pictures but from drawings specially prepared for the purpose, generally by his assistants, but in many cases by the master's own hand. When we remember the number of these engravings, and call to mind the fact that the proofs were in each case corrected and touched by the artist himself, some idea can be formed of his prodigious activity.[1]

As for the book illustrations, it was for the great printing and publishing establishment, now conducted by Rubens's friend Balthazar Moretus, that most of this work was executed. Balthazar, as we have seen, was a schoolfellow of the artist. He was a learned man, one of the 'set' of Philip Rubens. In spite of a paralytic stroke that made

[1] In Reynolds's *Journey to Flanders and Holland* are some judicious remarks—*à propos* of the engraving of the 'Coup de Lance'—upon the rendering of colour in black and white. He notes 'that the keeping of masses of light in the print differs much from the picture. . . . We have here the authority of this great master . . . that a print requires more and larger masses of light than a picture.'

him a cripple in later days, his energy and industry threw fresh life into the printing and publishing establishment. The house indeed never rose again to the commanding position that it had held under Christopher Plantin in the palmy days of the sixteenth century. However, under the management of Balthazar Moretus, which lasted from 1610 to his death in 1641, the firm became for a time the most important publishers of devotional works in Europe. It had the monopoly of all liturgical books published in the Spanish Netherlands, and was besides the official printer to the town of Antwerp.

Every visitor to Antwerp is familiar with the old building—now the Musée Plantin-Moretus—and with its varied contents. We have seen that in Rubens's day it ranked along with his own dwelling as one of the great sights of the city; unlike what remains of the artist's house, it is now freely accessible to the public. Here may be seen the many portraits that Rubens painted for the Moretus family, as well as a number of designs which he made for the illustrations of the books that they published. Here, too, are preserved the detailed accounts of the payments made to the great artist, from which we learn the sums that he received for the numerous frontispieces and other designs, executed at intervals during a period of nearly thirty years, for Rubens was engaged in tasks of this kind up to the year of his death. This kind of work was done in the evening, but above all on fête-days, when, no doubt, his studio was closed. His charge depended upon the time given to a drawing; for a whole day's work it is as much as a hundred florins, this being probably the rate at which he estimated the value of pictures carried out by his own hand.

The reader can now form some idea of the busy life of Rubens during the years that followed his return to Antwerp. Of the pictures that he painted I say nothing here. All that concerns the purely artistic life is reserved for treatment in another part of this work.

The literary and diplomatic correspondence of Rubens belongs, in the main, to a later time; but from our State Record Office has been extracted a series of letters that passed between him and Sir Dudley Carleton during the period that the latter was representing England at the Hague. Carleton (1573-1632) was a man of some culture; he had studied Greek under his father-in-law, Sir Henry Savile (of Oxford fame). He had served at Venice from 1610 to 1615, and when there had seized the opportunity to bring together an important collection of Greek and Roman marbles. He was by nature a shrewd diplomatist, but it was his fate to spend his life in carrying out the

insane and fatal foreign policy, first of James and then of Charles and Buckingham. It was in 1616 that Carleton was appointed to the Hague. He at once began to form a collection of pictures. We have already quoted his pessimistic account of Antwerp, through which city he passed on his way to his new post. But, as I have said, Antwerp was for all that still the artistic centre of the North. To that city, then, Carleton turned, and, through the agency of an Englishman settled in the Spanish Netherlands, purchased pictures by Breughel, Snyders, and Sebastian Vranckx. To obtain a picture by Rubens was a more serious matter, but a 'Wolf and Fox-hunt' was at length acquired in exchange for a rivière of diamonds (the property of his wife!). This was in 1616; soon after this Carleton's marbles arrived from Italy—a fact which did not escape the keen scent of our artist. Carleton was eager to possess more pictures by Rubens: Rubens's heart was set upon the acquisition of the marbles; they were both practical men, with diplomatic aptitudes. So François de Grebber is at once despatched to the Hague to negotiate the matter. This De Grebber was a painter from Haarlem, and a dealer in works of art—all the painters of the time seem to have been so when occasion arose. He is described by our artist as a good worthy man, in every way trustworthy. Rubens on his side had twelve pictures ready or nearly ready, which he valued at 6,850 florins. Carleton asked 6000 florins for his marbles. A careful list, in Rubens's own hand, has been preserved of these pictures—an invaluable document for the biographer, and one to which I shall have to return. For the present it will suffice to mention that a distinction is here made between the pictures entirely by Rubens's hand, those in which he was assisted by an artist of some distinction, and, finally, what we should call school-pieces; the prices varied accordingly. Carleton shrewdly declined to accept any of the last class. He finally agreed to take nine pictures, valued at 4000 florins, and to spend the outstanding 2000 florins in the purchase of tapestry.

Of the marbles thus acquired by Rubens we have a bare list—so many heads, so many full-lengths, etc. They had, as has been seen, but recently arrived from Venice. A few years later, in 1625, the bulk of them were sold by Rubens to Buckingham. Barely three years after this the Duke was assassinated, and his widow at a later date sent the greater part of his art collections to be disposed of at Antwerp. I do not, however, find any mention of these marbles in the list that has been preserved of the objects then sold.

We may regard as supplementary to the Carleton negotiation a correspondence reaching from 1619 to 1623, concerning a picture that Rubens was to paint for Lord Danvers—this it was proposed to present to the Prince of Wales. In exchange Rubens was to receive a 'Creation' by Bassano. But when our artist's picture arrived—it was a 'Lion Hunt'—the English connoisseurs would have none of it. It was but a school-piece, they declared. So the Bassano was sent back, *after being carefully restored* by Rubens. The painters of those days had no scruples in such matters, and of the many Italian pictures that passed through the hands of Rubens not a few may have been brought up to the desired key by a few deft touches from his hand.

There was indeed at this time in England a small but highly cultured circle, well capable of recognising the value of a work of art. It was of recent growth, and destined in a few years to extinction. Rubens, perhaps, hardly recognised its existence, for on the Continent at this time the English were not held in much esteem in questions of connoisseurship.

At the end of what is practically the last letter in this correspondence (Rubens to William Trumbull, 13th September 1621), there is an allusion to the new Banqueting Hall. It is here that Rubens, in an often-quoted passage, draws himself up with some dignity: 'Touchant la sale au nouveau palays, je confesse d'estre par un instinct naturel plus propre a faire des choses bien grandes que des petites curiositez. Chacun a sa grâce; mon talent est telle que jamais entreprise encore qu'elle fust desmesurée en quantité et diversité de suggets a surmonté mon courage.'

The year 1621 was in many ways a critical one in the life of Rubens. In April the truce with the United Provinces had expired; in the same month died Philip III. of Spain, and in the following July the Archduke Albert. The Netherlands now came more directly under Spanish control. We begin to see signs of friction between the agents of the Spanish Government and what may almost be called the national party in Belgium.[1] Though both parties were vehemently Catholic, and as such opposed to the Calvinists of the United Provinces, their interests were not the same. There were, of course, many shades of opinion among the Netherlanders. The old Belgian

[1] The word 'Belgium' was used officially at this time, especially in Latin documents, for the Spanish Netherlands. The modern kingdom of Belgium includes a much wider country, for at that time the Walloon districts to the east (the bishopric of Liége, etc.) formed part of the Empire.

aristocracy were jealous of the Spanish officials; the mercantile classes in the big towns, in Antwerp above all, were weary of the incubus of the endless strife; they were prepared to make great sacrifices if peace could only be ensured.

But there were two persons at this time in the Spanish Netherlands whose minds were, above all, set on the termination of the war—the regent Isabella at Brussels, and the great artist at Antwerp. This was the strong bond of sympathy between the Infanta and Rubens. From this time may be dated the diplomatic life of the great painter, and amid the many crosses and disappointments to which the new pursuit exposed him, he found in Isabella an unchanging and sympathetic supporter. These efforts for peace were to the end in vain. The great war went on for many years after both were laid in their graves. At the best, Rubens could pride himself on having been a factor in patching up a peace between the English and the Spanish courts. This was, indeed, but a side issue; but, as we shall see, the artist took upon himself no little credit for the success, such as it was.

Rubens, both in his life-time and in later days, has been found fault with for thrusting himself in among negotiations that did not concern him. What call was there for this *parvenu* to leave his paint-pots and the bourgeois circle in which he lived at Antwerp, and to occupy himself with matters of *haute politique*? But it seems to me that these persistent efforts in the cause of peace are just what was wanting to give dignity to the life of Rubens. The career of a successful artist gradually accumulating wealth is a no more stimulating matter to his biographer than that of a prosperous man of business. Rubens, however, saw well that while he was himself thus prospering, his country was being slowly impoverished—sacrificed, in fact to the interests of the Spanish monarchy, or rather to what a set of selfish ministers regarded as these interests.

Putting aside, then, for the present the artistic side of his career, there are two aspects under which Rubens, for the last twenty years of his life, will have to be considered. First, as a man of culture, alive to all that was going on in the contemporary world of letters and art, something of an archaeologist, and interested too in scientific questions, and then as a diplomatist. In this latter capacity he was prepared to take advantage of the cosmopolitan position that he had gained as the most distinguished artist of the day, using that position as a lever in the interests of peace, and prepared if necessary for personal sacrifices.

This year, 1621, so critical in the life of Rubens, we may regard as

marking the end of the Antwerp period, using that term in the narrower sense. Since his return from Italy it is doubtful whether he had ever passed the narrow limits of the Netherlands. There is, indeed, an allusion to an excursion into Holland, but that at best can have been only a flying visit.[1] During the following decade, in addition to another more important visit to Holland, we find him at Paris (three times), in Spain, and finally in England.

It was in 1621, again, that Vandyke finally left the studio of Rubens. Here for some years the young artist had held a position quite apart from the other pupils and assistants; we may indeed almost look upon him as a partner in the business. Once more, it was in this year that the negotiations were started that resulted in the commission for the Luxembourg pictures.

The next years, say from 1622 to 1626, we may regard as the central period of Rubens's career. They may well be introduced by some account of the letters that he interchanged from this time forward with his French correspondents, Peiresc, Valavès, and Dupuy.[2]

It is in these letters that we come to know Rubens as a collector, an antiquary, and as a man generally interested in the new discoveries of the day. All detailed account of the diplomatic negotiations that occupied so much of Rubens's time and thought during these years is scrupulously avoided in this correspondence, any allusion to them only involved what was already known to the public; Rubens appears to have had a wholesome dread of the great Cardinal; Richelieu on his part, although he bought more than one of Rubens's pictures, regarded the diplomatic activity of the Flemish artist with a mixture of contempt and suspicion. Their political aims, we must remember, were diametrically opposed, seeing that it was part of Richelieu's policy to prolong the war in the Low Countries.

Claude Fabri de Peiresc was a native of Provence and a *Conseiller du Roi* in the Parliament of Aix. He corresponded with all the learned men of Europe. Ten thousand letters, it is said, were found in his house at his death, and these letters for long supplied his niece with curl-papers and with fuel for the stove. His home at Aix he converted into a museum, where stuffed animals and Roman antiquities were

[1] According to the story told by Gerbier, Rubens when in company with Van Balen and Breughel, was surprised at a village near Haarlem by a party of Dutch artists disguised as peasants. This would have been in 1616.

[2] There have been preserved seventeen letters of Rubens to Peiresc (1622-1628, and again 1630-36—in the interval there are also one or two letters), eleven letters to Valavès (1624-1626), and as many as fifty-three to Dupuy, fifty-one of these between 1626 and 1628.

intermingled after the fashion of the day. It was through Gevartius, his life-long friend and the guardian of his children during his absence in Spain and England, that Rubens came to know Peiresc.

The correspondence opens with a discussion about cameos. Rubens had on hand a learned work on the subject; this was never completed, but eight plates of gems were engraved from his drawings by Vorsterman. There is much about the two great cameos of the family of Augustus, of which one is now in Vienna, the other in the Bibliothèque Nationale.[1] It was Peiresc who first identified the subject of the latter (it had previously been known as 'Joseph before Pharaoh'). Rubens when in Paris saw it in the Sainte Chapelle, and made a drawing of it.

Many were the subjects discussed by Rubens with his correspondents. A few brief quotations may throw some light on the questions in which he was interested. For instance, in 1622, writing to Peter van Veen, after mentioning his recently published work on Genoese architecture, and referring to certain new methods of etching (of which more later), he winds up with the following request—'I hear that your brother Signor Ottavio Veen [the letter is in Italian] has printed a little anonymous work on the Universal Theory, or something of the sort. This I most strongly desire to see. You have doubtless a copy, and could you give me an opportunity of looking at it, I would give you my word as a man of honour to keep this favour a secret and to speak of it to no one living.' Otto van Veen, Rubens's old master, was at that time *waradin* of the Mint at Brussels. He was a man of culture, holding some position in society; but this passage is, I think, the only evidence we have that he dabbled in such dangerous matters.

Somewhat later in the letters that passed between Rubens and Peiresc, there is much talk of an instrument, made by Drebbel, an ingenious Dutch experimenter and physicist, whom, indeed, Peiresc at a later date confesses to be something of a quack. This machine is referred to first as a little device 'for illustrating the flux and reflux of the sea,' and again as a ring of glass containing two liquids illustrating the *perpetuum mobile*. There was much mystery about this instrument, and Rubens was to keep it in his private cabinet. A great zest was given to such physical researches at this time by the secrecy with which they were surrounded. It is, indeed, an easy passage from such in-

[1] It is somewhat of a surprise to find the *Cameo di Niccolo* mentioned in another letter, referred to in the notes to the *Codex* as the work of an *Italian medallist of that name.* The word 'Niccolo' is of course merely an Italian diminutive of Onyx, now generally applied to stones of a certain definite colour.

quiries to the cryptic doctrines of the Basilidians and the Rosicrucians. It was *à propos* of some gems of the *abraxas* class as well as of certain ithyphallic intaglios, that Rubens is led into a discussion of these dangerous subjects. At this time in France, in Germany, and in the Low Countries there was a recrudescence of such superstitions; the Emperor Rudolph at Prague was, it is said, an 'adept'; the subject caused great searching of heart to our King James. In Spain some ten thousand of these *alumbrados* (illuminists) were imprisoned by the Inquisition, and some of them burnt.

For Rubens, Peiresc was essentially his purveyor of news from the French Court. When he went back to his native Provence, his place was taken first by his brother Valavès, and then by Pierre Dupuy, the publicist, the man, who, as the first defender of the Gallican church, holds an important position in the history of Catholicism in France. In the later correspondence politics take a more prominent place, although all reference to the details of Rubens's diplomatic missions is still avoided. These letters were indeed 'news sheets.' They were passed round to friends, and took the place of the 'foreign correspondence' of our daily press. I should add that it is but a very meagre proportion of this correspondence that has survived.

Of Rubens's relations with Marie de' Médicis, and of his first visit to Paris in 1622, I shall speak when, in a future chapter, I come to describe the pictures painted for the Luxembourg Palace. In May 1623, Rubens visited Paris for a second time, bringing with him several of the large canvases, completed except for the final touches. On his way he visited the Archduchess at Brussels, and was intrusted by her with a present for her good friend the French Queen-Dowager. This was a little spaniel, with a collar of twenty-five enamelled plates. The little animal has been recognised in the foreground of more than one of the Luxembourg canvases. But a very similar dog, it must be confessed, occurs in many of Rubens's pictures, both earlier and later.

Rubens's third and (apart from a flying visit in 1627) last visit to Paris, was in the spring of 1625. The work in the Luxembourg was now finished, and the gallery was before long thrown open to all the great personages that were now assembled in the capital for the marriage (by proxy) of the new king of England with the sister of the French king. It was a moment of triumph for Rubens. The great cardinal expressed his satisfaction, and even the phlegmatic and reserved Louis, when he was induced to visit the Luxembourg, found some words of approval. It was to M. de St. Amboise, it appears, that it

fell to explain the subjects to him, 'en changeant et dissimulant le vrai sens avec beaucoup d'artifice' (Rubens to Peiresc, 13th May 1625). The treatment of some of the incidents in his mother's life would hardly have been pleasing to the King had he taken the trouble to unravel the allegories in which the story was involved.

Rubens was present at the marriage ceremony. By his activity and presence of mind, he escaped all hurt on the collapse of a temporary structure on which he was standing. On the other hand, an injury to his leg, caused, he says, by the clumsy zeal of his boot-maker (may we perhaps surmise that a 'gouty tendency' had aggravated the ill?) had prevented his being present when the King visited the Luxembourg.

Rubens must have had much to observe and much to report to his mistress at Brussels during this visit to Paris. He was not likely to overlook the occasions that now presented themselves for obtaining fresh insight into the tangled politics of the time. The events of 1625 were scarcely less important than those of 1621; they will be best dealt with when we come to consider the diplomatic career of Rubens. Let us now finish with him as a collector and a connoisseur of art.

At Paris Rubens met for the first time the notorious Duke of Buckingham.[1] It is no reflection on the artist's character to say that there was not a little in common between the two men. There is some reason to believe that Rubens accompanied the Duke in his visits to the royal galleries at Fontainebleau and to other palaces, and that they inspected the pictures together. In the Duke's company was Sir Balthazar Gerbier, a versatile man, not over scrupulous in his dealings, with whom Rubens was destined to be much associated in subsequent years. That the three discussed politics together we know; this was the case, no doubt, while Rubens was painting the Duke's portrait. How far political considerations influenced on either side the great bargain that in the ensuing year Rubens struck with Buckingham it is difficult to say. For the price of 100,000 florins, a prodigious sum in those days, the Duke obtained the whole of the artist's collections —pictures, statues, and gems. 'Cimelia omnia emit,' says the *Vita*, and connects the deal with the desire on the part of the Archduchess Isabella to obtain the goodwill of Buckingham. In the end Rubens obtained something under 90,000 florins; the rest went in commissions.

[1] 'Ducem Buquingamiae,' says the *Vita*, 'flagrantissimâ regis Angliae principisque Walliae gratiâ florentem.' Although the chronology is not quite exact—Charles was already king at the time—the words are in this case happily chosen. There was a certain caprice in the spelling of the name of the Duke at this time on the Continent.

Apart from Gerbier, the negotiations were carried on by Michel le Blond of Frankfort, goldsmith, engraver, and picture-dealer, at a later time the agent for art matters of Queen Christina. Le Blond was a cousin of Sandrart, who in relating the negotiations praises the practical shrewdness of Rubens. The pictures, indeed, were not sent off till the next year. Peiresc, when he heard of the sale, regretted that no catalogue had been made, a regret that we may well share. Before the transfer had been effected Rubens had lost his wife; in a paper that he handed to the guardians of his children there is some reference to the terms of this sale. Within two years after the receipt of the collection from Rubens, the reckless career of Buckingham was brought to a close by the knife of Felton. His widow after a time sent the bulk of his artistic treasures to Antwerp, to be sold there by public auction.[1] This may well have been on the advice of Rubens, who, when in London, saw the collection in the late Duke's house. It is not unlikely that, keen collector as he was, he may have then bought back some of the pictures and other treasures that he had parted with.

Rubens in after years had many dealings in cameos and other gems. Even in his diplomatic journeys he kept his eyes open for any opportunity of purchase or sale. As late as 1634 he mentions that he had exported a cabinet of carved agates and other stones to the Indies; this venture, however, resulted in a total loss, for the ship fell into the hands of the Dutch.

[1] Some of the pictures had been already purchased by the King and various noblemen. At the sale in Antwerp several pictures were bought by the Archduke Leopold William; these have found their way into the Gallery at Vienna.

CHAPTER V

Renewal of the war with Holland—Diplomatic Journeys—Rubens and Spinola —Rubens and Gerbier in Holland—Rubens at Madrid—In England—Marie de' Médicis at Antwerp—Rubens insulted by the Duke d'Aerschot.

TO form any intelligent idea of the part played by Rubens in the complicated politics of the twenties and thirties of the seventeenth century, some knowledge of the general political situation of the time is a *sine qua non*. Any such knowledge can, however, hardly be taken for granted in the case of an Englishman, even of one of 'average culture.' For the student of history who has taken some interest in the War of Liberation, in the Thirty Years' War, or in the policy of Richelieu, it is somewhat of a shock to find in Rubens an active agent *on the wrong side*. Still more surprising is it to discover that on the same side were many of the choicer spirits of the time and the representatives of the best culture.

It was the renewal of the war in 1621 that first brought Rubens into the world of politics. It was now that he obtained the ear of the widowed Infanta. He was already a *persona grata* with Spinola, the great general who was again in command of the Spanish troops. It is not, however, till two years later that we have any definite evidence of the new direction given to Rubens's activities.

In September of 1623 a pension of ten crowns a month is granted to Rubens for services rendered to the Spanish king. The money was to be paid from the treasury of the citadel, that is to say that it was distinctly a *Spanish* pension. The weight given by Isabella to the counsels of Rubens did not escape the notice of the French resident. On August 30, 1624, he reports—'L'Infante preste tous les jours l'oreille aux discours que lui fait sur ce sujet Rubens, peintre célèbre d'Anvers, qui est connu à Paris par ses ouvrages qui sont dans l'hostel de la reine mère, lequel fait plusieurs allées et venues d'ici au camp du Marquis de Spinola.'

If it had rested with the Infanta and with her adviser Spinola, peace would probably before this have been made with the Dutch. But, as it was, the diplomatic agents who were negotiating with this

object in the United Provinces were invested with little authority, and this was well known to the enemy. These agents indeed, whether working in Holland, in Spain, or in England—for by this time England had again declared war with the old enemy—were for the most part men of not very lofty social or indeed moral character. It was a thankless task for those that looked for any higher reward than their mere pay. Anything that they might effect was liable to be repudiated at head-quarters; at the best they could only pave the way for the envoys with better credentials who succeeded them and who reaped all the honours. In the country to which they were sent they were looked upon as little better than spies.

Of this Rubens was to have bitter experience during the ensuing years. He soon grasped the fact that until he was invested with definite powers from the Spanish king his efforts would be nugatory. But first it was necessary to obtain a recognised social position. With this object doubtless, and with the support of Isabella, a petition for letters of ennoblement was forwarded to the Spanish court. The report on this occasion of the President of the Supreme Council of Flanders at Madrid has been preserved. After full inquiry it is certified that Rubens's parents had always been faithful vassals of the king. His father had been councillor, his brother secretary, to the town of Antwerp. 'The petitioner, Peter Paul Rubens, excels in his art and has for long been much esteemed by the whole of Europe. It is certain that many princes have attempted to withdraw him from Antwerp with great promises of honours and money. To the excellence and supremacy of his painting he adds a knowledge of history and languages, and he has always lived with splendour, being possessed of great means.' The petition is marked as approved by the King (January 29, 1624). The actual patent of ennoblement is dated a few months later. This carried with it the right to hold property by feudal tenure, and it was accompanied by a grant of arms.

At the beginning Rubens was mixed up with certain negotiations that were carried on between the Infanta and Prince Maurice; these had been going on ever since the termination of the truce in 1621. At the Hague there lived one Jan Brant, a cousin, it would seem, of Rubens's wife. There is much reference to him in the correspondence of this time as 'El Catolico.' The negotiations were apparently carried on, at first at least, without the knowledge of the Spanish king. They came to nothing. Maurice was probably all through playing with the agents of the Infanta. Of the part taken by Rubens at this time we

know little. He was, as we have seen, constantly going and coming between the camp of Spinola and the court at Brussels.

Spinola, indeed, we may regard as, next to Isabella, the most important of the supporters of Rubens at the commencement of his diplomatic career. They were close friends to the end. Rubens, writing to Dupuy at a later date (January 27, 1628) after some carefully selected words of praise, says of the great general:—'At first I mistrusted him as an Italian and a Genoese, but I have come to know him as a man, firm and trustworthy, who merits the most complete confidence. As for what concerns my gallery [the Luxembourg; Spinola had lately passed through Paris] his Excellency did not take the trouble to go and see it, having no taste for painting, a matter that he understands no better than a navvy.'

While in Paris in 1625 Rubens was in the thick of the diplomatic tangle of the time. James I. had died in April. The new king was preparing for the expedition against Cadiz. Everything seemed to depend upon the action of the French. A long and outspoken letter that Rubens wrote from Paris to the Infanta (March 15) dwells on the importance of the careful selection of negotiators. 'He is moved solely,' so he ends his letter, 'by his great zeal in the service of the King and of her Excellency, and by his desire for the good of his country.'

From 1625 to his death in 1628 the policy of England was directed by Buckingham. By the end of 1626 the country was committed to a war with France. Meantime Maurice, Prince of Orange, was dead, and Breda, a town so closely connected with the Nassau family, had been delivered to Spinola. The Spanish party was now more hopeful; the negotiations, however, in which Rubens took part were directed more especially to the patching up of a peace with England. Now these negotiations were conducted on the part of our country by Balthazar Gerbier, and what we know of them is derived in the main from the summary drawn up by Gerbier that has been preserved in the English archives. This is a point that should be borne in mind.

Gerbier, like Rubens, was a Fleming—he was probably born in Antwerp—and the two were able to correspond when desirable in their own language. Clever, unscrupulous, and versatile, Gerbier had risen to power along with Buckingham. As an artist he was something more than an amateur; he was accomplished above all as a miniature painter. His importance as an architect has only lately been recognised. In later days he turned his active mind to social and economic

questions. He visited Surinam as a mining engineer, and started a college in London for the study of science and foreign languages. Charles had to the end complete confidence in him, and his relations to Rubens were uniformly friendly. The man was for all that something of a charlatan, and there hangs about him an atmosphere of suspicion.

Rubens had corresponded with Gerbier since the meeting in Paris. But meantime the bitter feeling of the Spanish court against England had increased. Buckingham, however, who was drifting into a war with France, was now ready to negotiate for peace with Spain.

In the summer of 1626 the plague was again raging in Antwerp. We do not know if we are to attribute to it the death of Isabella Brant (June 20). To judge by her later portraits she had been ailing for some time. Rubens, writing to Dupuy, gives what appears to me a rather stilted and conventional account of his grief for his wife. M. Rooses, however, finds in this letter 'a touching and eloquent funeral sermon.' More convincing is the testimony to her domestic virtues given by Rubens in some earlier letters. Her death was the occasion for several funeral feasts, one for the town councillors, one for the guild of 'the Violet,' a third for that of St. Luke. This was an old Flemish custom.

The spring of the year 1627 was spent by Rubens in negotiations with Gerbier, first at Paris and then at Brussels. Here there comes upon the scene another of those subsidiary diplomatic agents, a certain Abbé de Scaglia, an irrepressible intriguer, ostensibly representing the interests of his master, the Duke of Savoy, but ever ready to proffer his advice whether called for or not. Even more than Rubens or Gerbier, he was the object of the contempt of the haughty Spanish king. Philip writes to his aunt, the Infanta, urging her to have nothing to say to this sorry schemer. The king then turns to Rubens —'I regret,' he says, 'that you have allowed a painter to be mixed up in concerns of this importance.' He complains that the dignity of his kingdom was thus compromised, and 'although England may see no inconvenience in the choice, it is not one that is suitable to us.' To this the Infanta replies that she is but following the example of Buckingham, who has sent Gerbier, another painter, with directions to treat directly with Rubens. 'It is indifferent,' she urges, 'to whom these affairs are entrusted at the commencement; if they are followed up, they can be handed over to people of higher rank.' Isabella was probably in this only anxious to humour her nephew, but we may wonder whether she showed this letter to her trusted servant.

It was now necessary for Rubens to proceed into the enemy's country to hold parley with Gerbier. A veil of mystery had to be woven over his meeting with the agent of Buckingham. The great Flemish artist, it was reported, after his recent loss, sought relief in travel (June 1627). Should the fact that he had met with Gerbier become known, what more natural than that Rubens should be desirous of discussing with him the terms of the sale of his collection to the English duke. But, for all this secrecy, Carleton reports from the Hague that the rumour of the proposed journey of Rubens 'was advertised hither from ye first Inne that he came to in Roterdam.'

Nevertheless, Rubens with his fellow-connoisseur proceeded with his art tour through the United Provinces—'Here he now is,' says Carleton in his home dispatch, 'and Gerbier in his company, walking from towne to towne upon theyre pretence of pictures; which may serve him for a few dayes; so he dispatch and begone; but if he entertayne tyme long here he will infallibly be laid hold of and sent with disgrace out of the countrey.'

We hear of Rubens at Utrecht as a guest of Honthorst. Here he met the young Sandrart, who accompanied him during the rest of his journey,—eager, he tells us, to profit by every word that fell from the great artist's lips, and equally eager, no doubt, for a bit of self-advertisement.

Nothing whatever resulted from these negotiations, for the good reason that what we may call the *central* Spanish policy was at that moment directed towards the arrangement of a joint attack on England by France and Spain. This was made clear on the arrival from Spain of a special envoy, Don Diego de Messia, Marquis of Leganes—'the long-expected Messiah,' as Carleton calls him.

Rubens was now playing a very dangerous game. Some outspoken criticism of the omnipotent Olivares and of the Spanish policy generally that he had allowed himself to use in his letters to Gerbier must have caused him no little nervousness when at a later date the correspondence was called for by Philip. Fortunately the most compromising of these letters were in Flemish, and Rubens was able to pass them off as private correspondence of no consequence.

After his arrival in Brussels at the end of August, Leganes had pushed forward the preparations for the attack on England that was to be made under the direction of Spinola; but for all that the *pourparlers* were continued. Gerbier got to know all about the designs of 'this Messiah turned apostate.' If this was through Rubens, the latter was

exposing himself to a charge of treason. But amid these cross-currents of diplomacy Rubens had the support, not only of Isabella, but of Spinola himself, with whom he continued in constant correspondence.

Spinola was now wanted in Spain—he was more or less in disgrace. He left Brussels with Leganes early in 1628. Rubens now began to talk of a projected Italian journey, to be combined with a visit to Peiresc at Aix in the autumn. Spinola was pleading the cause of peace at Madrid, as we know from a curious letter of Philip to the Infanta (May 1). The King is now willing that the negotiations should be continued, and orders that the whole of the Gerbier-Rubens correspondence should be sent to him. To this the Infanta replies that Rubens will forward the letters; no one but he, however, could interpret their full meaning; many of them, too, were of a private nature. In this answer she was no doubt inspired by the artist himself. After some delay the summons came from Philip. Rubens was to proceed to Madrid, bringing all his own papers relating to the negotiations, as well as those in the Brussels archives.

Having put his affairs in order, Rubens at the end of August started by post. He arrived at Madrid in fifteen days. Within this time, it is said, he even made a détour to La Rochelle to see something of the siege operations, which were then drawing to a close. If this is true, he must have travelled day and night. The canvases that he was bringing for the Spanish king do not seem to have delayed his progress.

Rubens had his own ideas upon the methods of Spanish policy, and these he at times expressed with some freedom. Breaking through his usual reserve in a letter to his French friends, he complains bitterly of the Spanish habit of systematic procrastination. Spinola, he said, was wearily kept waiting, fed with false hopes. In letters to Gerbier he had, as we have seen, more than once proclaimed openly his opinion of Olivares. No doubt, before setting out for Spain, Rubens had obtained from Spinola the assurance that he would be in no personal danger. I think there was a party in Madrid that would have been willing to make him the scapegoat of what I may term the Spinola-Isabella policy. Perhaps the meditated Italian journey might after all have come off had it seemed likely that this party would obtain the upper hand—the artist had it in reserve.

But it was above all Rubens's position as the supreme painter of Europe that, in spite of certain conventional depreciations of his social position, ensured for him a welcome at the Spanish court. The arts

were in great favour not only with the King, but not less with the all-powerful Conde-Duque Olivares, who was now in the position that the Duke of Lerma had filled when Rubens was in the Peninsula twenty-three years previously. The Spanish school of painting was by this time on the eve of its great triumphs. Velazquez was twenty-nine when Rubens arrived at Madrid. He was already the court painter, but the extent of his relations with Rubens at this time has probably been a good deal exaggerated. Pacheco, his father-in-law and biographer, tells us that Rubens 'associated little with painters. Only with my son-in-law (with whom he had previously exchanged letters) he formed a friendship, and expressed himself very favourably on his works because of his modesty. They visited the Escorial together.' On the other hand, the name of Velazquez is not mentioned in the extant correspondence of Rubens. The art of the young Spanish painter shows little sign of direct reflection from the great Fleming. Even in the 'Borrachos,' a picture that was begun about this time, it is only in the general treatment of the subject that we can see any trace of Flemish influence.

'The King,' says Rubens, writing from Madrid to Peiresc, 'evidently takes great pleasure in my painting, and in my opinion the prince is very well gifted. I know him by personal intercourse, for I have an apartment in the palace, and he comes to see me nearly every day.' On the other hand, in a letter to Gevartius, Rubens speaks of Philip's want of self-reliance. 'He is the victim of his own credulity and of the incapacity of others, and the object of a hatred that he has done nothing to deserve.' This criticism is no doubt in the main directed against Olivares.

Rubens passed the whole winter (1628-29) at Madrid, and during the eight months of his stay, he got through a prodigious amount of work. He painted the King and the Royal Family, and copied the Titians in the palace. 'I am here to paint—as everywhere else,' he tells Peiresc, and this was in a measure the truth, but not the whole truth.

All through the winter there was diplomatic fencing with England. Sir Francis Cottington was to come out to settle the terms of peace. But now England hung back, and Cottington delayed his departure. Finally, in the spring of 1629, it was determined to send Rubens to London. He was to be on the same footing there as Endymion Porter (who had remained in the Spanish capital in spite of the war) had been in Madrid. This was a great triumph for Rubens. It is true he was

not sent as an ambassador—he had no authority to conclude any treaty—but at least he was now the direct representative of the Spanish King. Before leaving, he obtained the honourable post of Secretary to the Privy Council in the Netherlands, and he received from the King a ring set with diamonds.[1]

Rubens was back in Paris by the 10th of May; three days later he was in Brussels. After an interview with the Infanta and a hurried visit to his home in Antwerp, he proceeded to Dunkirk. What between contrary winds and Dutch cruisers, the passage of the Channel was in those days a serious matter. One hears of important dispatches being delayed for many weeks. But Rubens, on the 3rd of June 1629, found a passage to Dover in the *Adventure*, an English man-of-war. On his arrival in London he went at once to the house of his friend Gerbier.

As many as twenty-two dispatches that Rubens wrote from London to Olivares have been found in the archives of Vienna and Simancas. In them the progress of the negotiations (the earlier part at least) may be traced. 'Here things begin with the King and finish with the ministers,' he writes. 'The English,' so Rubens declared to Charles, 'have every reason to fear the Dutch, whose power and whose influence increase every day. With the aid of the English Puritans, now discontented and ready to revolt, they could at any day make themselves masters of the kingdom,' (Rubens to Olivares, September 21). These remarks, says Rubens, made a great impression on the King; in his interviews with him all seemed on the point of being settled, but when he came to deal with the ministers, with Weston the treasurer, with Cottington the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with Holland and Carlisle, difficulties arose on all sides.

There was no general agreement on a foreign policy; but the greatest obstacle to peace was the insistence of the English king upon the rights of his brother-in-law, the Elector Palatine; again, the French party, supported by the Venetian ambassador, was definitely opposed to an arrangement. Rubens was pitted against Richelieu, and he felt bitterly the disadvantage in which he was placed by the dilatory Spanish policy and the want of full powers. As it was, he was accused by Olivares of overstepping the limits of the mission assigned to him, but this charge Rubens vehemently repudiated. For the whole of

[1] I may note that when at a later date Rubens petitioned that his position as *caballero* or knight should be confirmed by the Spanish King, the precedent of Charles v. and Titian is quoted.

the seven or eight months that he was detained in England the negotiations went on with the Spanish court. In November he wrote to the Infanta that the delay in sending from Madrid an ambassador with full powers was likely to be fatal to the cause of peace. 'Maldijo la hora en que vine á esto Reyno'—'May it please God that I depart from it with success'—so he ends his letter. This was after Cottington had left for Spain (with a cargo of merchandise that he hoped to sell at a profit) and after Rubens had received the formal thanks of the Spanish Council.

Cottington, before leaving, had entertained Rubens at a magnificent festival, and in October the great artist had visited Cambridge, when the honorary degree of *Magister in Artibus* was conferred upon him. It was not till the 7th of January 1630 that Coloma, the Spanish ambassador, arrived, more than two months after the departure of Cottington. Six weeks later Rubens was at length free to return to his home, after an absence of eighteen months. King Charles, before leaving, rewarded him, as was his wont, in right royal fashion. On the 3rd of March, after creating him a knight, he presented Rubens with the jewelled sword with which the *accolade* had been performed, with a ring drawn from the royal finger and with a hat-band set with diamonds. These two jewels the King had bought from Gerbier for £500. The diploma, which was not made out till the following December, declared that the honour was granted to Rubens as an acknowledgment of the ability that he made proof of in the task of re-establishing a complete harmony between the crowns of Spain and England.

There is nothing to show that Rubens had any great love for England or the English. He was by nature entirely out of sympathy with the puritan spirit; the reckless extravagance and consequent venality of the English nobility is noted by him with strong expressions of disapproval. He protests more than once against the harshness of the English maritime law, and the barbarities perpetrated by English sailors. But, on the other hand, he was struck by the wealth of the country and the widespread distribution of the amenities of life. In the company of scholars and of connoisseurs of art he was led to correct the previously formed impression that England was a land of barbarians.

Rubens, during his stay in England, was probably regarded with suspicion and dislike by the extreme Protestant party. At Dover his departure was delayed by an order of the Secretary of State, Sir John

Coke, on the information that some Catholic students were proposing to seize the opportunity to make their way to Jesuit Colleges in France and the Netherlands. We have no information as to how the matter was settled.

It would have been well for Rubens's peace of mind had he at this stage abandoned all connections with politics, and it would seem that this was at first his intention. In the Spanish Council there was some idea of sending him as resident to England, and this in spite of the protest of some of the grandees against appointing one who was '*persona de oficio que enfin es de manufactura y venal.*' Philip himself, at a later date, in a letter to his aunt, speaks of Rubens as 'a person well regarded at the English court, and very well fitted by his prudence to negotiate all kinds of affairs' (April 1631). To this Isabella replies that Rubens was not disposed to leave Antwerp. Perhaps at this date his young wife had something to say in the matter.

I will now briefly summarise the events of the last two years of Rubens's diplomatic activity. Early in 1631 the court of Brussels was thrown into consternation by the report of the escape from Compiègne, where she had been kept in honorary confinement by Richelieu, of the Queen-Dowager of France. On the arrival of Marie as a fugitive at the Belgian frontier, it was Rubens who was deputed to negotiate the terms of her reception. For him it was enough that the Queen and her worthless son, Gaston d'Orléans, who was then in open warfare with his brother the King, were the enemies of Richelieu. The whole story is related by Rubens in a long dispatch to Olivares, in which the violence and base ingratitude of the Cardinal is denounced. The unnatural conduct of the French king and the reckless policy of his minister are contrasted with the virtues and wisdom of the Spanish statesman. When we remember the opinion previously expressed by Rubens of Olivares and of his policy, this letter is not pleasant reading.

Rubens, without doubt, genuinely sympathised with the afflictions of his former patroness, the foolish and baffled *Reine Mère.* He seems indeed on this occasion quite to have lost his head. Olivares, however, turned a deaf ear to his entreaties for assistance either to the wretched Gaston or to his mother. At a meeting of the Spanish Council he pronounced the letter of Rubens to be unworthy of discussion. It was full, he said, of absurdity and Italian verbiage—'*trae muchos despropósitos y chácharas Italianas.*' The intention, he allowed, was

good. Rubens in one respect was justified by events. He foresaw in Richelieu the relentless enemy of Spain.

When somewhat later (September 1631) Marie de Médicis proceeded to Antwerp in company with the Infanta, she was lodged in the old Abbey of St. Michel. When she visited Rubens's studio, La Serre, the official historian of her wanderings, recounts in inflated language her admiration of the 'animated marvels' of the great artist. But, apart from pictures, there was another matter of greater urgency to discuss. It was, in the first place, to pawn her jewels that the Queen had come to the great market on the Scheldt, and who better than Rubens could advise her in such matters? He was indeed himself ready to advance part of the money.

At the end of the year Rubens was sent on a secret and fruitless mission to Prince Frederick Henry at the Hague. When in the following spring (1632) he determined to have no more to do with such work, he tells Gerbier that 'never did any resolution cause him less regret.'

In 1632 the tide of war turned decidedly in favour of the Dutch. The incompetence of the generals who replaced Spinola, and the lukewarmness or even treason of the Belgian nobility, enabled Frederick Henry to carry all before him. Isabella was fain to summon the States General at Brussels. It was determined by that body to send a deputation from their numbers to the Hague, to treat for peace. Among the ten representatives chosen for this purpose was the Duke of Aerschot, a prominent member of the old Belgian nobility. Now, before this, Rubens had consented, at the entreaty of the Infanta, to open once more secret negotiations with the Dutch. When this became known to the deputation from the States, members to a man of the aristocratic party, and none too well disposed to the Spanish court at Brussels, there was an outcry of indignation. It was indeed on the advice of Aerschot that the States had been summoned; Isabella had appealed to him in the time of danger, when his loyalty to the Spanish court was a matter of some doubt, and he had then broken with his fellow nobles who were plotting against the Spanish government. Gerbier, writing in January 1633, says: 'The Duke d'Aerschot has great aversion to him [Rubens] for several reasons, too long to relate.' We can, however, well guess of what nature these reasons were. He regarded the Antwerp painter as a pushing *parvenu* and a creature of the Spanish court. He may even have had suspicions of a more serious kind.

On the 28th of January the Duke was passing through Antwerp on his way to the Hague. Rubens failed to call on him. At this presumed breach of courtesy Aerschot expressed his annoyance. Whereupon Rubens addressed to him a letter in which he excused himself, and went on to defend the part that he had taken in the negotiations. 'He would deem,' he said, 'unworthy of life one who should allow his private interests to delay in any way the public cause.' This dignified reply of Rubens brought down upon him a furious rejoinder from the Duke—it was an outburst of long-suppressed rage. He ridicules the expressions used by Rubens, who had begun his letter with the phrase: 'Je suis bien marry d'entendre le ressentiment que Vostre Excellence à monstré . . . car je marche de bon pied, etc.' The scathing reply of the Duke commences thus: 'Monsieur Rubens, J'ai veu par vostre billet le maryssement que vous avez . . . et que vous marchez de bon pied'—he then rates him for his incivility in not waiting on him, and for the impropriety of his conduct generally. He ends: 'Tout ce que je puis vous dire, c'est que je seray bien aise que vous appreniez d'ores en avant comme doibvent escrire à des gens de ma sorte ceux de la vostre.' The Duke's wrath had not cooled down when he reached the Hague; he proclaimed to all that he had no need of painters, nor would he have ought to do with them. Of all this the English agent, William Boswell, dryly remarks: 'If they are angry at his [Rubens] mixing in their business, it is probably because they know that he understands more about it than they do.'

Such was Rubens's last experience as a diplomatist. A proposed mission to Holland in 1635 came to nothing, as the Dutch would not grant him a passport. This was the reward of ten years of service and sacrifice in the cause of peace. There were complaints on both sides to the Infanta—the insult was indeed as much to her as to Rubens—but the matter ended ostensibly in her accepting the resignation of the painter. The Duke of Aerschot was, however, summoned to Madrid, nominally to explain the result of the negotiations. The visit of Rubens in 1628 had, we may remember, a similar motive. A few months later the Infanta died (December 1633). Almost her last act had been to write to Philip advising him to detain the Duke on the ground of his complicity in the late plots—this Gerbier was prepared to prove. After a courteous reception Aerschot was thrown into prison. He passed the remainder of his life in a Spanish fortress, dying in the same year as the great artist whom he had so grossly insulted. It is stated that Gerbier had received 20,000 crowns for betraying the conspirators

of 1632: they had appealed to him for assistance from Charles. That Rubens had any part in this despicable business we may well doubt. At the same time, he may have known something of the original conspiracy. In any case there was more than enough to raise the suspicion of Aerschot and the close friendship that Rubens maintained to the end with a man of Gerbier's character can only fill us with amazement.

CHAPTER VI

The Fourment Family—Rubens's Second Marriage—He buys the Château of Steen—The 'Joyous Entry' of Ferdinand—Death of Rubens—The Division of the Estate.

RUBENS'S political career began, as we have seen, in 1621 with the sole rule of the Infanta. Twelve years later, it ended with her death. We have now to turn to the second marriage of the great artist, and to his life as a country gentleman.

Of the children of Rubens by his first wife, in 1630 there only remained Albert, a studious lad of sixteen, who succeeded his father as secretary to the Netherlands Council, and the twelve years old Nicholas, who had served so many times as a model, whether for the infant Christ or for a roguish boy playing with his fellow *amorini*.

On the 6th of December 1630, some six or seven months after his return from London, Rubens was married to Helen Fourment, the youngest daughter of Daniel Fourment, a wealthy silk-merchant. Helen had not yet completed her seventeenth year. The Fourment family belonged to that same circle of the *haute bourgeoisie* from which came Rubens's first wife. There was indeed no member of it who had attained to the high position of his father-in-law, the learned Jan Brant. The families were, however, already connected, for as long ago as 1619 the eldest brother of Helen had married a sister of Isabella Brant. Rubens had been long intimate with the Fourment family. The famous picture known as the 'Chapeau de Paille' is a portrait of an elder sister, Susanna, and this had been painted some years before his second marriage. Susanna indeed had sat several times to Rubens. M. Rooses speaks of her rare gifts, and would have it that it was the cultivation of her mind that formed the link between them—that she, in fact, acted the part of an Egeria to the great painter. I do not find that any further proof of this is offered than can be discovered in her tall arched forehead and in her large—indeed preternaturally large—sympathetic eyes. On the other hand, there would appear to be even less justification for the inscription '*Maîtresse de Rubens*' to be found on an old engraving of Susanna's portrait. There

is no hint of any scandal in the contemporary accounts. The sons and daughters of Jan Brant and Daniel Fourment, an endless chain of brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, seem to have formed a prosperous and pleasure-loving group, a society not too refined perhaps, according to our present notions, but one prepared to enjoy the good things of this world, and little troubled by the political anxieties of the time. So we see them in such pictures as the 'Jardin d'Amour' or in the little 'Park Scene' at Vienna. (See below, Chap. x., for the portraits of the Fourment family.)

That Rubens, now recently ennobled and Secretary to the Privy Council of the Netherlands, should have sought a wife among his old *bourgeois* connections is a tribute to the sound common sense that ruled his life. The fact would tend to confirm the impression that in his diplomatic aspirations Rubens was guided by no vulgar ambition, but had the good of his country at heart. In a letter to Peiresc (18th January 1634) he, however, thinks it necessary to adopt an apologetic tone in speaking of his marriage. After a passage that repeats in substance a famous dictum of St. Paul on the subject of matrimony, he says, 'I have then taken to wife a young woman of honourable parents, but of *bourgeois* extraction, although all the world advised me to choose a lady of the Court. But I feared above all to find in my companion pride, that bane of the nobility. It is for this reason that I have chosen one who will not blush at seeing me handle a brush.'

There is no need to describe the face or figure of Rubens's young wife. Whether as decked out as a bride at Munich, as the happy mother of the Louvre panel, or again as the stately young matron of the two pictures lately at Blenheim, Helen Fourment is familiar to us all. If we seek information as to her character we must go again to the same pictures. There we have evidence of good nature, affection for her children, both for her own and for those of Isabella Brant—the little Nicholas of the Munich garden scene is, we see, quite happy to act as her page—above all, complete dependence upon the will of her husband. If she loved to deck herself in silk and fine feathers, she was in this only carrying out her husband's wish; she was equally ready to stand as his model attired only in a 'courte pelisse.' Whether she was a good manager we do not know; Rubens calls her his 'housewife,' but he was probably prepared to look after all such matters himself.

Rubens was now an 'armiger' and a knight entitled to hold land on feudal tenure; this is distinctly mentioned in the Spanish patent of

knighthood. Since the year 1627 he had been the owner of some property in the polders, north of Antwerp; the estate included a country house, but we do not know if he ever lived there. It was not till 1635 that he became the lord of the *résidence seigneuriale* of Steen, that is so closely associated with the last years of the artist's life. This estate is described (when advertised for sale at a later date) as a 'grande maison de pierre, avec autres beaux bâtiments, en forme de Château, avec jardin, vergiers, arbres fruitiers, pont-levis; avec une grande butte au milieu de laquelle s'élève une haute tour carrée; ayant étang et ferme avec maison de fermier, etc. etc.'

The old house, with its stepped gables, may be recognised to the left in the great landscape in the National Gallery. The lofty battlemented tower, that no longer exists, is still better seen in the 'Tournament Landscape' of the Louvre. The Château of Steen lies between Brussels and Malines, about seven miles to the north of the former town. The low hills of Brabant have here sunk to the level plain that stretches north to the Scheldt. The feudal tower is gone, and the house is now the trim residence of a country gentleman; but on one side at least the stepped gables and the stone-lined mullion windows have remained unchanged, and the moat is still fed by a clear-flowing stream which, on the other side of the road, turns what was once the seigniorial mill; among tall flags and willow-herb the cattle stand about in summer in the cool stream, just as we see them in the foreground of the landscape at Hertford House. The country around is indeed quite flat, but well-timbered and fertile. Here, as Seigneur de Steen—*toparcha Steini*, he is called on his epitaph—in possession of full feudal rights, Rubens passed the last five summers of his life.

There is, however, an almost total absence of any documents that can throw light upon the life of Rubens during these years. We know that he suffered at this time from the gout; as early as 1635 he was confined to his bed for a month at a time by what he called his 'domestic enemy'! One has only to look at the worn expression and pinched features in the portrait (now in Vienna) that he painted of himself shortly after this time, to understand that illness, overwork and anxiety had of late years combined to wreck a physical constitution that had hitherto defied all calls upon it. But if the body was ailing there is in his work to the very last not the slightest sign of any falling off. More than that—it is in the pictures of these last years that we may find the culmination of all that was best in the art of Rubens. Perhaps in these very troubles, physical and mental, we may discover

an element that was wanting in the previously uninterrupted career of success. Their very presence may have served as stimulants to the inner artistic spirit. In any case, we have in this final flaring up of genius a psychological problem of consummate interest.

But we must now once more return to the political changes and to the endless war that forms the sombre background to the life of Rubens. The command in the Low Countries had long been held in reserve for Ferdinand, the 'Cardinal Infant,' brother to the Spanish king, and now the young prince set out from Italy to take the place left vacant by the death of his aunt Isabella. Ferdinand was active, intelligent, and, as a soldier, of no mean capacity. He arrived in the Low Countries crowned with laurels, for on the way he had joined the army of his cousin, the King of Hungary, and the two at Nordlingen had completely overthrown the Swedish forces (September 1634).

On the occasion of the 'Joyous Entry' into Antwerp of the handsome young prince, it was determined by the town council that the procession (the 'Ommegang') and the decorations should surpass in magnificence even the previous record. Thirty-five years before this, when another ex-Cardinal, the Archduke Albert, had been received in the town, it was Rubens's master, Otto Venius, who had charge of the decorations—in these, no doubt, the pupil had a hand. Now the general direction, the planning, especially of the 'theatres' and the triumphal arches, was intrusted to Rubens. The details were discussed with his old friends Niccolas Rockox and Gevartius. Money was collected from every side—from the great banking house of the Fuggers, from the Guild of St. Luke. But we are told that, of the foreign merchants, only the Portuguese responded to the call.

If the old town was once more to deck itself out in honour of the Spanish Infante, the occasion was not to be lost for impressing on the young ruler the deplorable falling off of the commerce of Antwerp. Along with allegorical designs that celebrated the late victories of Ferdinand, as well as the glory of his ancestors, there were others that called attention to the decline of the city. At the end of the Rue Haute was erected a vast trophy in the form of a theatre, one of many others of a similar character; here the weeping figure of Belgium implored the prince to remove her bonds—that is to open again to commerce the waterway of the Scheldt. On the central canvas the god Mercury is seen taking his flight, while the figure of Navigation lies sleeping in its chains. The best of the sculpture and the paintings, those especially in which Rubens had had a hand, were subsequently

offered to Ferdinand in place of the customary present of money; the rest it was attempted to sell by auction. The expenses had greatly exceeded the estimate, and there was much heart-burning and contention before the money could be found. The official record of the event was preserved in a sumptuous volume, the *Pompa Introitus*, of which the text was composed by the learned Gevartius, and the engravings of the arches, theatres, and porticos, executed by Van Thulden. When, after endless delay, in December 1642, the work at length appeared, both Ferdinand and Rubens were in their graves.

It was a matter of rejoicing to Rubens that in the next few years the new Regent gained a series of successes over the old enemy. The victory over the Dutch at Calloo (1638) was celebrated by further rejoicings at Antwerp, and Rubens designed a triumphal car with allegorical figures. The young prince had pretentions to connoisseurship; he visited Rubens in his studio, and appointed him his court painter. For his brother the king, Rubens in these later years was covering with desperate haste canvas after canvas. As soon as they were dry, the pictures were sent off in batches to Madrid, the larger ones through France with special passport. It was one of Ferdinand's duties, in the intervals of his campaign against the Dutch and the French, to report to Philip the progress of the work, and to encourage the now ailing and gout-racked painter to fresh efforts.

We have but few personal records of Rubens during these last years. In 1637 he married his ward Anna, the daughter of his old friend Jan Breughel, to David Teniers the younger. In all his correspondence I can only find one letter in which there is any reference, and this slight enough, to his life at Steen. This is a note addressed to his favourite pupil of later days, Lucas Faid'herbe. Writing to Antwerp from his country house (August 1638)—'It is strange,' he says, 'that we hear nothing of the Ay wine, for that which we brought with us is all drunk.' This Vin d'Ay comes from the Champagne district; it was then much in favour, and was drunk during the year succeeding the vintage. I have already quoted the passage from this letter where he asks that the gardener should send the Rosalie pears and the figs from the town garden. It was to this same Faid'herbe that Rubens wrote his last letter, the last at least that has come down to us (9th May 1640). Faid'herbe was about to be married, and Rubens sends him his congratulations with those of his '*huysfrouwe*' and of his sons. His *huysfrouwe*, he says, will in a few days pass through Malines on her way to Steen. The summer-flitting then took place early in

May. The tone of the letter is hearty and friendly, with some of the customary 'chaff' that was at the time thought indispensable on such an occasion.

It was probably not till 1639 that the gout, that had troubled Rubens for so many years, seriously interfered with his work. In April he was unable to sign his name, so bad was the attack in his right hand. Yet in this year there is every reason to believe that Rubens carried out with this hand a whole series of large pictures. In fact, up to the last month of his life Rubens was able, not only to write long and cheerful letters (as that to Faid'herbe already quoted), but in all probability to work at his easel. On the 9th of April, 1640, he writes to Rome to his friend François de Quesnoy—'Were I not prevented by my age and the gout, which renders me absolutely useless, I should hasten to you.' As late as the 2nd of May, Ferdinand reports to his brother 'that Rubens hopes to finish the large picture and the ten small ones before next Easter.'

But on the last day of the same month Gerbier writes to Murray from Brussels—'Sir Peter Paul Rubens is deadly sick, the phisicians of this town being sent unto him to trye their best skill on him.' Rubens was indeed by this date already dead.

On the 27th of May, only three days before the end, Rubens recast his will. By the new arrangement, Helen was to receive half of the capitalised property. This was the share of the 'bien de communauté et d'achat' that came to the wife according to the usages and rights of the town; much jewelry too went to her, including a 'chain of Indian work composed of 13 towers,' and the diamond ring presented by Charles I. The will was in the form of a mutual one between Helen and her husband; and, in addition to her moiety, she received a share equal to that of each of the children. To the studious Albert he left his books; the agates and the medals were shared between Albert and Nicholas, on the condition that they should accept without demur the other terms of the will. Some opposition on the part of the sons of the first marriage, to the large share given to their step-mother was perhaps looked forward to.[1] For the large collection of drawings there was a curious proviso. These were to go to any son or son-in-law who should become a professional artist; if by the time that Rubens's youngest child was eighteen no such case had arisen, they were to be sold for the benefit of the general estate. The pictures, the statues, and the other

[1] We know, however, from other documents, that their rights had already been secured, probably by the terms of their mother's marriage-settlement.

works of art, were to be sold at suitable time and place, publicly or '*de main à main*,' in the most advantageous way, and that on the advice of the painters Frans Snyders, Jan Wildens, and Jacques Moermans. The latter was to undertake the sale of the engravings, and in remuneration for the task a picture by Rubens was bequeathed to him. There were several other separate bequests of pictures—the portraits of the testator's two wives and the corresponding ones of himself were to go to their respective children, and the picture known as 'Het Pelsken' (the 'Courte Pelisse' now at Vienna) is left to the widow.[1]

Rubens died on the 30th of May 1640. We have singularly little information concerning the reception of the news in his own town. The ever-busy Gerbier mentions it in his letters home without any expression of regret. Writing to Murray on 2nd June he says: 'Sir Peeter Rubens is deceased three days past. So as Jordaens remains ye prime painter here.' This is what occurs to him as the most interesting result of the departure of his old and faithful friend. Perhaps there was something else in his mind—the dead take their secrets to the grave! More suitable to the occasion is the reflection of the Abbé de St. Germain in a letter to Moretus—'He has left us, and gone to behold the originals of the many beautiful pictures that remain with us here.'

Rubens's papers and letters probably passed to his son Albert; but what became of them at the death of the latter is not known. The Belgian archivists are still searching for them. In 1891 his final will (from which I have quoted above) and some other documents came to light while making some repairs at the Castle of Gaesbeck. The hopes for further discoveries were thereby revived. But since this, it does not appear that anything more has been found.

The funeral, as we know from the detailed accounts of the expenses incurred, was carried out with due pomp. There were funeral feasts, where the 'baked meats' were washed down with liberal draughts of the Ay wine, perhaps some of the very vintage of which Rubens had lately laid in a stock; there were gifts to religious houses and to the poor; finally, provision was made for many hundred masses for the good of the artist's soul.

It was not till three years later that the body was deposited in the chapel that had meantime been erected behind the high altar of the Church of St. Jacques. Rubens on his deathbed had expressed a desire to be buried in the great church so intimately connected with the

[1] For the discovery of this will, see below. It was summarised by M. Bonaffé in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* for 1892, and has been printed in full in the *Bulletin Rubens* for 1895.

artistic life of Antwerp. The picture that he selected to hang above his tomb is a superb example of his later manner; but those who find in it portraits of the great artist and his family are certainly on the wrong scent. An inscription below the altar-piece records that the widow and children had consecrated the chapel, the altar, and the picture to the Mother of God in memory of the deceased. There is in the chapel no distinct monument or wall-plate to Rubens. A design for one was indeed made, and the drawing was discovered some years ago; on it is a Latin epitaph composed by his friend Gevartius. It was only in 1755 that a canon of the church, a descendant of Rubens on the spindle side, caused the composition of Gevartius to be engraved in front of the altar upon the slab that covers the vault. There is the usual reference to 'the modern Apelles,' and this finds its place between the praises of the wide learning of the deceased and the record of his titles and honours. Finally, as his principal title to fame, is recorded the fact that it was Rubens who laid the basis of the peace that was some time later arranged between Philip, King of Spain and the Indies, and Charles, King of Great Britain.

About a year after the death of Rubens, a careful inventory or specification was drawn up of all the pictures found in his house. Of this inventory—it was intended for a sale catalogue, but no public sale ever took place—a unique example exists in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*.[1] It is strange that so important a document has never been accurately reproduced in any accessible publication, even M. Rooses has not found room for it in his bulky biography. A contemporary English version —probably identical with the *Register of the late Sir Peter Rubens's Rarities*, sent by Gerbier to Murray for the information, no doubt, of Charles I.—is an incomplete and not very accurate version of the original. This English catalogue has been printed by Dawson Turner and by Sainsbury.

The executors parted with most of the pictures by private bargain. Philip IV. not only instructed Jordaens (after, it would seem, an unsuccessful application to Vandyke) to complete some of the pictures already commissioned but left unfinished by Rubens, but the agent of the king in the Netherlands was ordered to purchase thirty-two additional works from the executors, among them several copies from Titian and other Venetians. He took, besides, a landscape by Bril and

[1] *Catalogue des Peintures et Raretés qui se vendront à Anvers au mois de Mai, 1641, dans la maison mortuaire de Mesr. P. P. Rubens, Chevalier et Seigneur de Steen.* According to J. F. M. Michel (*Vie de Rubens*, Brussels, 1771), the idea of a public auction was abandoned, and the items were valued and disposed of separately.

four little works by Elsheimer. Not a few other pictures were bought by different members of the artist's family. Gerbier wrote home immediately after the death of Rubens: 'There wil be manny raritys of Pictures, Agats, and otther pretious things sould in S^r^ Peeter Rubens outcry; if his Mag^ty^ would have anything bought, it must be knowne in time and bills of credit sent; for it must be done with reddy money.' But the English king had at this time other matters to occupy his attention, and there is no record that any pictures were procured for England.

As I have said, no sale ever took place. Many of Rubens's works were given as presents to those who had rendered services to the executors—copies of his pictures found in the house were thus freely distributed. What remained—after being widely advertised by bills in Holland and elsewhere—were disposed of by private bargaining.[1] Not till the end of 1645, after not a little friction between the widow and her two stepsons, was the estate wound up. It has been valued at 400,000 florins, equal to about £100,000 in present currency.

The drawings were sold in 1657. Many of them were, it would seem, bought by Jabach, the great banker of Cologne. From him they passed to the French king—this was the nucleus of the vast collection of drawings by Rubens in the Louvre. Others remained in Antwerp, and a large collection was brought together in the eighteenth century by Albert of Saxe-Teschen, husband of the Austrian regent, and the founder of the famous Albertina cabinet, now one of the glories of the Austrian capital.

[1] It is not clear how many of the pictures catalogued by the notary in the inventory of 1641 were disposed of in the following years. Both Rooses' and Émile Michel's accounts of the whole transaction are far from satisfactory.

PART II

CHAPTER VII

Aesthetic Analysis—The Task of the Critic—The Predecessors of Rubens—the Romanists—The Home-stayers—The Landscape-painters.

THE main facts of the life of Rubens have now been rapidly narrated. It has been my endeavour to select from his correspondence and from the notices of contemporaries whatever would throw light on his personal character, or would illustrate his position both as a man of general culture and as a diplomatist. As regards the strictly private life of Rubens the material is unfortunately very scanty, and not less scanty is the information that can be gleaned concerning his life as an artist—this is a subject rarely touched upon in his correspondence.

We can, however, now form a fairly clear picture of Rubens as he appeared to his contemporaries. We see him as an eminently successful man in his commerce with the world. He was quite abreast with the culture of the day, interested in the researches of his learned correspondents, above all a practical man, a judge of character, and ready to adapt himself to his surroundings; winning in manner and plausible, knowing how to gain his point, and how in the main to have his own way. He was a good organiser, and thrifty in the management of his affairs. The trite old saying of Juvenal, the '*mens sana in corpore sano*' that he inscribed on the portico of his garden, was for him a sufficient guide in the regulation of his life. As for deeper questions, he was content—to continue the quotation from the Latin poet—'to order his life in accordance with the ruling of the gods,' that is, to accept the world as he found it, without too deeply probing the grounds, theological or social, on which that world was based.

It must be borne in mind that in this estimate I am carefully putting apart all the elements that go to constitute the artistic side of Rubens's character. That this can be readily done in his case is, I think, a significant fact. To consider the matter even on the material side—

that this many-sided man of the world had a business, an *atelier* from which he drew a large and steady income, does not much affect our general estimate of the man or of the position that he held among his contemporaries. No doubt a certain additional lustre surrounded him as 'the Apelles of his age'; while, on the other hand, his 'mechanical pursuit' was more than once thrown in his teeth by the haughty nobility both of Spain and of his own country.

It is for us another and a more important question how far the work of Rubens as a painter was influenced by the world into which he was thrown, and by what we may call the material circumstances of his life. Again, behind this question of the *milieu* there is another and a more intimate one—this is concerned with the native endowments of the man, using that term in its widest sense, so as to include not only his physical endowments, such as his power of withstanding fatigue and the delicacy and accuracy of his organs of sense, but in addition his force of intellect and strength of will. All these are points upon which more or less light should have been thrown in the foregoing biography. That Rubens takes a high position under some of these heads, a commanding one under others, will be at once acknowledged. What, however, I want to dwell upon here is, that we have not even yet got to the central element in the artist's nature. We may elaborately describe the artist's *milieu*, may exhaustively analyse his mental and physical gifts, and yet have barely touched upon the distinctive power, the possession of which is the primary cause of the interest we take in the man, and alone justifies the toil and expenditure of time both in the case of the writer and of the reader of an artist's life. It is here that the biographer of a great artist comes into contact with the very crux of his argument, and the position that he takes up regarding this point must determine the whole treatment of the subject.

As to the nature of this intimate gift—we may call it creative force, inspiration, welling up of subliminal consciousness—this I must leave to those who attack the problems of the 'higher psychology.' There are some who would whittle away this creative power in the case of a great artist, who would find in it a mere product of his mental and physical endowments—in the case of a painter, of the accuracy of his visual perception, combined with a delicate co-ordination of the muscles of eye and hand. If to these gifts, and to some others, are added certain intellectual powers, and a strength of will resulting in perseverance and industry, then, it is said, we have all the elements requisite for the equipment of a great painter—nothing more is wanted. This

has been, on the whole, the ground taken by inquirers of an inductive turn of mind, by those who claim to be guided by experience and by the comparison of individual instances. But in the case of the formative arts—so at least it seems to me—it is just when we come to collect and compare together our telling examples, that this explanation of the artistic faculty breaks down; as a working theory it is not supported by experience. Of some hundred young artists who are at the same time being trained to their work, amid the same surroundings and with equal advantages, some twenty or thirty may be endowed with the gifts essential to the successful painter—eye, hand, and brain may work together. But among this last group, one and one only, no more gifted apparently than his fellow scholars, neither more industrious nor persevering than they, will as time goes on give proof in his work of qualities that place him in a position quite apart from his former companions—he takes his place among the great artists of the world.

Neither in the case of a Rembrandt or a Velazquez can we find anything in the mental or physical equipment with which the young painter started to place him definitely apart from his compeers. No doubt hard work and a mind concentrated upon the task before him will in time enable an artist to express with his hand what the eye has conveyed to the brain. So in the case of Rubens, an infinitely refined and responsive muscular equipment—eye, brain, and hand, linked by nerves of exceptional delicacy—enabled the painter in time to call to life, with the pigments on his palette, the colour impression received upon a sensitive retina. Such bodily gifts were no doubt quite exceptional, and by no other artist probably have such endowments been so generously and yet economically made use of.

But it is not these endowments alone that have given Rubens his lofty place in the world of art. They were but the machinery by means of which the genius of the artist was able—and this not at once, but only after long training—to find full expression. Behind them there was the intangible, evasive something, the creative element, that not only places the great painter, poet, or musician apart from his fellows, but, whenever it is present, finds a distinct and individual expression.

It is with the recognition of this final endowment that the higher criticism of art is concerned, and the appreciation of the presence of such an element in the work of an artist seems to involve mental gifts almost as rare as the endowment itself. The great artist is creative and objective: the critic is but an interpreter, and his mental attitude must, from the very nature of his task, be subjective and receptive. He

is exposed to all the shifting currents of an emotional nature. How, then, is he to steer his way and arrive at definite and consistent results. To answer that question would be to expound a theory of aesthetic criticism. All I can here say is, that the critic is more likely to move in a healthy and bracing atmosphere if he will, as far as lies in his power, identify himself with the artist whose work stands before him, follow not only the lines of the brush, but, as far as his imaginative powers allow, enter into the mental attitude and aim of the painter. In this endeavour, I may add by the way, he will be greatly assisted by the study of drawings, still more perhaps of preparatory sketches and unfinished pictures. Fortunately, in the case of Rubens there is no deficiency of such material.

But the critic of art who insists in dwelling in these lofty regions is in danger of losing both himself and his reader in a shifting mist of subjective appreciations. When we come to examine the pictures of Rubens, we shall find the widest contrasts in the estimation of them by those in whose judgment we are prepared to place the highest confidence —by Fromentin, or Delacroix or Bürger, to say nothing of the older writers of art, such as Sir Joshua Reynolds and Horace Walpole. But there are humbler, but not less rich, fields to be explored at a lower level. Much that is entertaining and even instructive has been written about pictures by men more remarkable for intellectual gifts than for the possession of the artistic temperament. It is reported of Taine, the great French critic of life, who had much to say about art, that he could in practice scarcely tell one picture from another. On the other hand, it has been cruelly said of the German critic Waagen, whose word in the world of art was once law with us, that his opinion upon the merits of a picture were not always the same before and after luncheon.

The material evidence about a picture passes indeed insensibly into the artistic estimation. This is true even of dates and attributions, still more in the case of inquiries of a technical kind, as to the nature of the brushwork in a picture, or of the pigments and varnishes used. What is essential is, that the writer who has to enter into these material details should not imagine that he has advanced beyond the threshold of his subject.

Before I proceed to take up in chronological order the pictures of Rubens, either one by one or in groups, the attempt must be made to form some estimate of the place that he occupied in relation to his predecessors and contemporaries. Now, putting aside for the moment

all question of original creative genius—in the case of a painter such genius has little chance of asserting itself until the machinery—nerves, muscles, and eyes—has been brought under perfect control—I should be inclined to define the position of Rubens as that of a strongly characterised Fleming who had learned his art among eclectic surroundings derived almost in entirety from the South. While in the studio of Vaenius and during the eight years passed in Italy, the point of view of Rubens was on the whole that of his contemporaries, the Carracci; but as an eclectic, both early and late, it was to Venice that he looked rather than to Rome or Florence. This Italian material was melted down, passed into a Flemish mould, and then stamped with his own individual mark. His artistic ancestry on the Italian side I shall not attempt to follow up, but of that strange school that flourished in the Low Countries in the sixteenth century, a school in which Rubens received his earliest training, a word must be said. There is one place, and one place only, where the works of this school can be studied, and that is in the great gallery at Antwerp. A few examples may be found at Brussels, and others are scattered through the churches of Flanders. The school is totally unrepresented in our English galleries, public or private. The great painters of the day, from Jan Massys and Frans Floris to the innumerable artists who, in the next generation, bore the names of De Vos and Francken, reserved their best works for their native town, for the public buildings, guildhouses, and churches of Antwerp, whence they have passed to the museum.

Already at the beginning of the sixteenth century the painters of Antwerp had taken a prominent position, not only in their own special guild of St. Luke (where indeed they had relegated the sculptors of all kinds and the architects to the background), but they had pushed their way into many of the literary associations. The Rederij-kammer, for example, the famous society that took the violet as its badge, had become, before the end of the fifteenth century, a dependency of the painters' guild—the two were often regarded as identical. *Pictura et Poesis* — it was for the cultivation of these that the societies met together, but it is of their great feasts, held twice a year, and of their generous expenditure at times of public rejoicing, that we hear most. These banquets were indeed important events in the municipal life. It was at one of them that Albert Dürer was received in 1520. 'At the meal all the vessels were of silver, and the food was costly. Among those present were many men of stately presence; their wives, too,

were all present.' Great was the contrast with the simple, homely life to which the great painter of Nuremberg had been accustomed.

The members of these guilds and social clubs were expected on certain occasions, for example, on retiring from the position of dean or yearly president, to present to the society a picture, often a work of some importance. At other times two or more artists would combine to paint one of these quaint guild-pieces, strange combinations of symbolism and heraldry, many examples of which may be seen in the Antwerp Museum.

It is from the entries in the books of the guild of St. Luke, the *Liggeren* or registers, that most of what is definitely known of the lives of the Antwerp artists has been pieced together. By means of these entries we may check the fanciful stories told by the old biographers, by Van Mander, or by De Bie. Here are registered the day on which the young student entered the studio of the master, the date on which he himself became a master, the fines in which he was mulcted for breaking the rules of the guild, the year and day of his death, and at times much besides. It is true that there are many gaps, some difficult to explain. The name of Rubens, as a student, does not appear; at a later date, by his appointment as court-painter to the Archdukes, he was, as we have seen, freed from all duties and charges connected with the guild. We are thus deprived of what would have been an invaluable record of the pupils whom he received in his studio.

Antwerp indeed in the sixteenth century was, apart from Italy, the artistic centre of Europe. Nor was there probably any town in Italy, not even Venice, where the painters took so high a position in the municipal life, nor where, as represented by their guilds, they formed so united and well organised a body. The town was the great art mart of Europe. At an early date the colouring of carved woodwork provided perhaps more occupation than any other branch of the painter's calling. In Germany, and to some extent in the Low Countries, this painted *schnitzwerk* for long gave the key to the work executed in the flat on panels. In the fifteenth century the painters of Antwerp and Brussels had combined their forces, and in the former town, at the great yearly fair, the members of the united guild were alone permitted to display for sale, on the benches around the cathedral, the carved tabernacles and shrines, or the painted panels that were distributed thence over the half of Europe. Already, by 1460, a special hall had been allotted—the Pand—for the sale of books, pictures, and carvings. This Pand, closely connected with the old and new Bourses, came in time to be a kind of

permanent gallery for the display and sale of works of art. The name is preserved in the Lange and Korte Pandstraet that lie to the east of the present Bourse.

The great panels and canvases that the Antwerp masters of the sixteenth century painted for the churches and the guilds of their town are tributes to their perseverance and industry. There was no scamping of the work, the officers of the guilds looked after that. Every inch of the surface is finished as in a miniature; so thorough is the execution that the colours are as brilliant to-day as when the work came from the painter's studio. As for the subjects chosen, they follow on the whole those painted by Rubens in later days—sacred history first, then classical history and mythology; they are rarely concerned with contemporary events. As in the case of Rubens again, the aim seems to have been to follow as closely as possible in the wake of the great Italian masters, and to clothe the whole with a garb of southern origin. But with these sixteenth-century masters the southern clothes will not fit. In spite of years spent in the study of anatomy and the learned drawings of the later Roman school, the carefully painted muscles will not work, the skilfully posed figures stand isolated and petrified—there is no real life in them. So of the colouring; the glitter and sheen of the surface are unrelieved by any passages of repose. Certain nacreous effects, obtained by rapidly changing and quite conventional local tints, are at times not unpleasing, and these quasi-classical compositions of the North, in this respect, compare not unfavourably with the dull and chilly canvases of Vasari or Bronzino, that may at times have served as models. In this quality of colour, indeed, these sixteenth-century men form a link between the later work of Quentin Massys and the early work of Rubens.

Others, more especially after the middle of the century, went more directly to the contemporary Venetian masters; this was above all the case with Otto Vaenius, the master of Rubens. Tintoretto in the later years of the century was a name much honoured in the north; Titian was of course the supreme master with them all; but in the works of these northern followers of the Venetians it is of the poorer pictures of such painters as Paris Bordone, or again of the Bassanos, that one is most reminded.

I will take two examples to illustrate the life and work of these sixteenth-century Italianisers. Frans Floris and Marten de Vos were men of commanding influence in their day, living in princely fashion, and the latter at least taking a place of some importance in the annals of Antwerp. We shall find many points of resemblance as well as of

marked contrast between their social position and that held later by Rubens.

Frans de Vriendt, known as Floris (*c.* 1516-1570), belonged to a family all of whose members were artists of one kind or another. His father was a painter, his brother Cornelis was the greatest architect of the day in Antwerp; another brother was a painter on glass, and a third a famous potter who entered the service of the Spanish king. Frans, we are told, on his return from Italy was overwhelmed with commissions and acquired great wealth. Van Mander paints him as a man of considerable mental gifts, mixing on friendly terms with the Prince of Orange and other famous men of the day; he occupied a palatial house built for him by his brother Cornelis. For all that, Frans Floris was a determined toper, whose boast it was that he could hold more wine than any of his boon-companions. This is indeed a charge freely brought against the Flemish and Dutch artists by their biographers. Those who went to Italy returned like the Prodigal Son. The proverb went *Hoe schilder, hoe wilder*,—'as wild as a painter.' Would that it might run—*Hoe schilder, hoe stilder*, 'as quiet as a painter,' says a writer of the day. The careful and indeed laborious execution of the pictures of Floris makes such charges as these little credible. Frans was a poor colourist compared with many of his contemporaries; his ambition was to be reckoned as the Michelangelo of the north. Hence the learned anatomy and the swelling muscles in his 'Last Judgments' and 'Falls of Rebel Angels'; more pleasing are his numerous 'Adorations of the Kings.'

Marten de Vos (1532-1603) was one of the one hundred and twenty pupils who passed through Frans Floris's studio. De Vos was a most prolific painter; the Antwerp Museum possesses thirty-three works by him, some of colossal size. He is said to have studied under Tintoretto in Venice, and even to have painted the background of some of his pictures. There is little to call to mind the subdued opulence of the Venetian's palette in the glittering and often metallic tints of De Vos's crowded compositions, but the man was in his way something of a colourist. Like Rubens in the next generation, the industrious Marten gave employment to a whole school of engravers. Like Rubens, too, although many of his subjects are taken from sacred history, he rejoiced in elaborate allegory. During that brief but stormy period of comparative freedom which preceded the capture of Antwerp by Farnese in 1585, Marten de Vos took his place as a prominent citizen. A once popular engraving after a work of his records the rejoicings that accom-

panied the throwing open of the hated Spanish Citadel. But, for all that, his pictures were sought after by the Spaniards, and an important work of his is still to be seen in Seville. When in 1597 De Vos painted the picture of the 'Marriage of Cana' that now hangs in the Cathedral, Rubens was already a pupil in the studio of Otto Vaenius. We must remember that there were painters in Antwerp working in the old hard, 'unemancipated' style, even after the return of Rubens from Italy.

Of the artists who went to Italy, some like Denys Calvaert never returned. Jan Calcar, who came from the Cleve district, took his place as a member of the Venetian school. Others, like Bertol Spranger and Joris Hoefnagel, settled in Germany. But there was another set of painters who, although they can with difficulty be brought into connection with Rubens, are in other respects of greater interest to us than are these Italianisers. These were the men who carried on the traditions of Quentin Massys and rejected the classical teaching of the Romanists—the Flemish realists who painted the people and the scenes amid which they passed their lives. Of these the earliest, and in some ways the most interesting, was Pieter Aertszen, known as Lange Pier (*c.* 1507-1575), who, although he began and ended his days in Amsterdam, was a citizen of Antwerp and a master there of the Painters' Guild. 'Long Peter' is well known by his pictures of kitchen interiors; in his naturalistic treatment of such subjects he had many imitators, and that not only in his own country. When Bassano, or even at times the superb Veronese, turned from the stately banqueting scenes to the offices where the feast was in preparation under the care of Martha or another (Mary and her Master in such a case take a quite subordinate place in the background), we may probably recognise the influence of the northern realistic art; the early 'bodegone' scenes of Velazquez may perhaps be traced ultimately to the same source. The work of Aertszen and of his nephew and pupil, Joachim Beuckelaer, smacks of the soil; it is nowhere to be better studied than in the gallery at Brussels. The kitchenmaids of Lange Pier are of living flesh and blood; they put to shame the gorgeously robed lay figures of his Italianising rivals. It is in the pictures of these men, and with them we may class Jan Sanders van Hemessen, whose biblical subjects are treated in homely fashion, that the peculiar tone of colour that characterises the Flemish school as a whole, and found later prominent exponents in Brouwer and Teniers,[1]

[1] M. Rooses finds in Jordaens the direct descendant of these sixteenth-century naturalists; but in spite of his realistic leanings, the rich and original hues of this great colourist place him in some respects further apart from them than Rubens himself—the Rubens, I mean, of the earlier Antwerp period.

first becomes prominent. Certain tawny, ochry tints form the basis of their work—into them the local colours are worked; raw and burnt sienna, or something akin, seem to dominate the whole school. Of Rubens himself it may indeed be said that it is the steeping of the hues of the Venetians in these native ochry tints that gives the prevailing tone to his pictures; this is visible in his early if not in his earliest work. I would exemplify what I mean by the copies from Titian made while in Rome that are now at Stockholm.

But, of all this homely school, it is Peter Breughel who, as a painter of peasant life and still more as a landscapist, interests us most to-day. Peter was an original genius and the founder of a large family of artists, who were at work for at least a century. The grim humour of the father was lost in the more mechanical and tame works of his son, the second Peter or 'Höllen' Breughel. His younger son, Jan, developed a style of his own, and his little landscapes were repeated *ad infinitum* by a son, and probably a grandson, down to the middle of the seventeenth century. Rubens admired the genius of the elder Peter; his work may have influenced his treatment of peasant life in later days. With Jan or 'Velvet' Breughel (so called from his love of fine clothes) Rubens was intimately connected during the earlier part of his life at Antwerp; they painted many pictures in conjunction, and the great artist even deigned at times to imitate the dainty style and handling of his friend. When Breughel died in 1625, Rubens became the guardian of his children.

There were numberless portrait painters at Antwerp in the sixteenth century, but only one has attained to European reputation—Anton Mor, whom, as Sir Anthony More and Antonio Moro, we hardly think of as an Antwerp painter. In that town, however, he was born, and there he passed his latter days, dying perhaps in the very year that Rubens was born. These portrait painters wandered off for the most part to Spain, to France, or to England. From Joost van Cleef, early in the century, to the younger Frans Pourbus, the contemporary of Rubens and his rival at the court of the Gonzagas, they found ready patrons in all the courts of Europe. Of no slight merit are the portraits that some of the ambitious Romanists found time to paint in the midst of their more important engagements; it is a marvel what downright sound work these men could produce. In the galleries of Belgium and Germany they come upon one as a surprise. For such a work as 'The Falconer' of Frans Floris at Brunswick, to give but one example, we could well spare whole acres of their elaborate, crowded allegories

or Bible scenes. In many of these last, however, on close inspection, individual heads full of character and life may at times be found—portraits, in fact, of contemporaries. Rubens himself, it must be remembered, was but casually a portrait painter.

The landscape painters of the Low Countries in the sixteenth century can hardly be said to form a school, nor is there any one of them who rose to distinction; but in the history of the evolution of landscape painting they occupy a position of some importance. We have in them the first body of artists who devoted themselves to landscape as a separate branch of art, and it is through them that passed the tradition that links such works as those of Patinir and Herri met de Bles with the fully developed landscape of Paul Bril, and Bril, we know, has some claim to be considered as the founder of the Roman school of landscape painting of the seventeenth century.

The northern landscape school—we will call it so for convenience—had its rise early in the sixteenth century on the banks of the Meuse, and in the next generation the most prominent artists, Lucas van Valckenborch, for instance, lived at Malines. None of these men can have had any direct influence upon Rubens; the few landscapes that he painted in the earlier part of his career were Italian, or at least classical in character—their analogies are with the school of the Carracci. A closer inquiry, indeed, but one that would take us too far, would perhaps show that the Italian revivalists of the time had in their treatment of landscape themselves learned much from the northerners. On the other hand, some of the assistants of Rubens—Van Uden is a prominent instance—carried on the traditions of the older landscape painters, and in the glorious landscapes that Rubens painted in his last years, the local scenery is treated in the main on the lines of his Flemish precursors. Even in the great canvases at Trafalgar Square and Hertford House some of the conventions and mannerisms that had been carried over from the earlier Antwerp painters may be traced.

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CHAPTER VIII

The Earliest Works of Rubens—Pictures and Drawings made in Italy.

I HAVE already said something of the training that Rubens received in the studios of Verhaeght, of Adam van Noort, and of Otto Vaenius. The first we know only as a somewhat indifferent landscape painter; he is not mentioned in the *Vita* of Philip Rubens, and his influence on Rubens was probably *nil*. At the present day the reputation as a painter of Adam van Noort rests upon a single picture, the masterly 'Tribute-Money' in the church of St. Jacques. On the strength of this work Van Noort has been claimed as the founder of the great Flemish school of the seventeenth century. But this fine picture, if it is by him, and even this is not quite certain, is distinctly a work of a later day. At the time when Rubens was in his studio, Van Noort was a comparatively young man; he indeed survived his pupil, dying in 1641.

Otto Vaenius is of more importance: he was a man of culture with whom Rubens would have had much in sympathy. Vaenius indeed was but a poor painter; there is a helplessness about the grouping and the pose of his figures that gives an amateurish look to his work compared with that of many of his contemporaries. He had, however, a feeling for colour, and by the study of the Venetians he had made some advance upon the hardness and glitter of the De Voses and Franckens.

When in the spring of 1600 Rubens left the studio of Vaenius to commence his eight long years of Italian wanderings, he was twenty-three years old, and a master of the Painters' Guild. What had he produced by this time to justify the statement of the *Vita* that he was already the equal of his teacher? There exists indeed but one work that with any approach to certainty can be ascribed to so early a time. This is the 'ANNUNCIATION' in the Gallery at Vienna, a picture ascribed to Rubens on the ground of the inscription on an engraving made at a later date by Schelte a Bolswert. From this we learn that the work in question was painted 'some years since' for the *maison professe* of the Society of Jesus at Antwerp. On the ground of this statement, by a

line of argument which need not be entered into here, the date of the picture is thrown back to a period preceding the departure of Rubens for Italy. This early 'Annunciation' is a mannered and insipid work, but—and this is important—essentially Italian in style. There is nothing in the colour or the composition to call up the name of Rubens. The predominant influence is probably that of Correggio at second or third hand.[1]

There are a few other pictures undoubtedly by Rubens that on one ground or another have been attributed to the pre-Italian period. I can only mention the 'PAUSIAS AND GLYCERA' that belongs now to the Duke of Westminster. The weaver of garlands is seated on a grassy bank; at her side her lover calls her attention to the portrait that he holds with outstretched arm. The flowers heaped up to the right and below have been attributed to Jan Breughel, but they are certainly not characteristic examples of his style. It is a pleasing picture, painted in a light key, quite free from the contorted lines and affected gestures of the Jesuit 'Annunciation.' The work is interesting in this—that the general composition was repeated in the famous group now in the Pinakothek, where Rubens is seated beside his young bride, Isabella Brant, under a honeysuckle bower.

What were 'the beautiful pictures painted by Peter Paul and belonging to him' that his mother in her will of 1606 mentions as being in the Antwerp home? And what were the canvases that the young painter, on his arrival in Venice, showed to the gentleman in the service of Duke Vincenzo? (see p. 14). For my part, I am not prepared to find a place among the last for the 'DRUNKEN HERCULES' and 'THE TRIUMPH OF VIRTUE' (or 'Hero Crowned'), both now in Dresden.[2] These indeed came from the Mantuan Gallery: M. Rooses even speaks of them as being in the style of Vaenius; but surely these are both pictures that stand out at once as characteristic works of Rubens. We see in them what we look for in vain in the undoubtedly early works of the master, certain attitudes and expressions that occur over and over again in later pictures. Notice in the 'Hero Crowned' the fair-haired nymph to the right. She appears again in the 'Daughters of Cecrops' and the 'Toilet of Venus,' both pictures

[1] This picture has apparently at one time been in two parts. The right-hand half with the Angel is superior in merit to the left, but this latter part may have been repainted. There is a picture at Dublin almost identical in style and composition.

[2] When in the sequel a picture is spoken of as being at Dresden or Munich or other town, without further qualification, it is to be understood as being in the principal public gallery of the said town. This for brevity's sake.

painted about 1612. So too of the 'Drunken Hercules.' The female satyr to the left is a familiar figure; we see her in more than one of Rubens's 'Bacchanals' of the central Antwerp period. Observe, by the way, the peculiar drawing of the knee and calf of the Virtuous Hero's legs. Here we have an example of a mannerism characteristic of the artist's drawing of the male figure both early and late. His courtly correspondent Peiresc, at the time of the Luxembourg commission, ventures to ask why he made all his heroes *bancroches*. Rubens certainly learned the trick at a very early date. Even if we put forward by some ten years the date of these Dresden canvases, they would still be interesting as the earliest examples of the great series of classical allegories and Bacchanal processions—for to the last class the 'Drunken Hercules' essentially belongs.

As we proceed with the examination of the pictures of Rubens, we shall come across not a few strange divergences of opinion concerning the date of execution. The student is in danger of losing all confidence in those who speak with authority on the subject. But such discrepancies, after all, affect but a small proportion of the total outturn of the master. It must be borne in mind that in the absence of material evidence as to date, those differences of style and conception, in all cases so difficult to define, that mark the successive stages of a painter's work, are themselves in great measure the result of changes in the mind of the artist—as such they are under the influence of temporary moods. A passing reminiscence of some picture executed many years ago, will leave its stamp on the work in hand at the moment. For some such reason there may be a tendency to revert at times to an earlier style. So, again, a new line may be adopted tentatively, and for one reason or another be dropped either for good or perhaps to be taken in hand again at a later date. There is a pitfall for the critic of a more material kind when a painter takes up and finishes a picture begun and then laid aside many years since; or again when he retouches or makes alterations in a work of early years; and Rubens, we shall see, regardless of future complications, from time to time lent himself to all these practices.

The eight long years that Rubens spent in Italy were essentially *Wanderjahre*. That up to the end of the period he regarded himself as a student, I have already pointed out (see page 23). The Spanish journey was but an incident: he was ever eager to get back to Rome, and to resume the study of the great masters of the sixteenth century. If we are to judge from what has survived of these early studies, it

was the making of careful drawings from the great masterpieces of Raphael and Michelangelo, and of oil copies of the works of Titian, that occupied so much of his time. The number of original pictures that he painted during this period was probably not great—not great at least compared with the outturn of succeeding years. But then at this time he had no staff of assistants, at most the shadowy Deodato. In this accumulation of studies, Rubens was perhaps in a measure guided by the advice of his brother Philip, and by that of other members of the learned circle in which his brother lived. Rubens, we know, made at this time many drawings of statues and medals. Of these the interest is rather historical or antiquarian than purely artistic.

But there was another reason for the preference that Rubens showed for Rome. Rome was then a living artistic centre, a centre where the problems of the day were being fought out. It was but a few years before that Annibale Carracci had covered with frescoes the gallery of the Farnese Palace. The great men of the next generation—the *epigoni* of the Bolognese school—were now coming into prominence. The early triumphs of Guido and of Domenichino—the life-course of both these artists runs parallel with that of Rubens—were achieved during the years that Rubens was in Italy. The air was now full of their rivalries. We cannot say that Rubens was prepared to learn much from either—it is rather that they were all growing up under the same influences.

But there was another painter, a few years his senior, his indebtedness to whom Rubens was ever ready to acknowledge. It was during the few stormy years that Michelangelo da Caravaggio spent in Rome that he waged his great battle as a realist with the followers of the traditional and eclectic schools. It was a combat not confined to the pen or the brush, for heads were broken at times. Caravaggio was driven from Rome in 1606: he lay under a charge of murder. Three years later he was on his way back to the Holy City. It was Naples this time that had become too hot to hold him. On the road he fell sick at Porto Ercole, and died friendless and abandoned. There is no stranger figure in artistic history, and few painters have had greater influence on their contemporaries and followers. We can nowadays find little in his work to raise great enthusiasm any more than profound antipathy. Yet Caravaggio was distinctly a pioneer. He was copied both in Italy and the Netherlands. The school he founded during a few short years of residence in Naples was the starting-point of the great Spanish painters of the seventeenth century.

It is difficult to discern the influence of Caravaggio in the work of Rubens. They had indeed this at least in common, a taste for the rendering of scenes of a tragic nature without any mitigation of the realistic horrors of death. It was at the instigation of Rubens that Duke Vincenzo bought Caravaggio's picture of the Apostles weeping over the dead body of the Virgin. The picture had been commissioned for a Roman church, but the homely figures of the Apostles and the ghastly rendering of incipient decomposition in the body of Mary were held to render the work unfit for such a position. This sombre picture is now in the Louvre. There is nothing in it to remind one of Rubens. The enthusiasm of the Flemish artist for such a work was perhaps in the way of a reaction from the rather namby-pamby style that he had lately favoured while under the influence of Correggio.

It was somewhat later probably that Rubens made a free copy of the 'Entombment' of Caravaggio, which was then in the Chiesa Nuova, but has now found a place in the Vatican Gallery—the copy is in the Liechtenstein Gallery. There is here an almost *recherché* rejection of what has always been regarded as the seemly treatment of this well-worn subject, in the way, for instance, that the legs of the corpse are hoisted up so as to be higher than the head. This was what struck Rubens, no doubt. A new pattern is evolved from the unaccustomed lines of the figures. For such opportunities as these he was always on the lookout.

Soon after his return to Antwerp, Rubens clubbed together with Breughel, Van Balen, and some other artists, to buy for 1500 gulden an important work of Caravaggio—'Our Lady presenting the Rosary to St. Dominic.' This picture was destined for one of the altars of the Dominican church of St. Paul, a church which already possessed several works by Rubens. We must admire the catholic spirit of Breughel and Van Balen, who could see the merits of a style so totally different from their own. There was something, no doubt, of the missionary spirit in this active pushing by Rubens of the stern, masculine work of Caravaggio, who was at this time regarded as a dangerous innovator and a heretic in art.

Let us now consider the more important of the pictures that Rubens carried out while in Italy, putting aside for the present those he painted in Spain. They fall into three groups.

I. At the time of his first visit to Rome, during the winter of 1601-2, Rubens executed for the new ruler of the Netherlands, the Archduke Albert, three large pictures; these were intended for the altar of St.

Helen in the old Basilica of Sta. Croce. Philip Rubens had been secretary to Jean Richardot, the President of the Council in the Netherlands; the son of the latter was now the Archduke's resident in Rome, and through him the commission was doubtless obtained (see p. 18). For the central altar the subject chosen was the 'INVENTION OF THE CROSS' (a fragment of the 'True Cross' is still preserved at Sta. Croce). On either side were 'THE CROWNING OF THORNS' and 'THE ERECTION OF THE CROSS.' These pictures passed to England at the time of the Napoleonic wars: they have now found a resting-place in the hospital at Grasse. So far as any inference can be made from pictures so much overpainted as these, there is as yet no sign of the hand of Rubens as we know it in later days. They are eclectic works, reminiscent, here of Raphael, in other parts of Titian, with something of Correggio running through the whole. The pictures are in a dark key, and the effect, differing in this from the later work of the master, depends mostly on chiaroscuro.

II. After his return from Spain, Rubens spent some time in Mantua. It was there that he copied two pictures of Correggio at that time in the Ducal Gallery (probably the 'Ecce Homo' and the 'Education of Cupid,' now at Trafalgar Square): these copies were sent to Prague as presents to the Emperor Rudolph II. It was at the same period (1604-5) that Rubens carried out the one important commission that he received from the Duke, his master. This was for three canvases, all of colossal size, destined for the Church of the Jesuits, an order that in later days played so important a part in the artistic career of Rubens. In the great picture that was to find its place over the high altar, the members of the Ducal family, attired in robes of state, are seated below to right and left. We are, in the arrangement, distinctly reminded of Veronese. They gaze upwards at a vision of the TRINITY that occupies the top of the picture. These parts of the work we know, for, as separate pictures, they now hang opposite one another over the doors of the library of the Liceo at Mantua. What lay between on the original canvas—other members of the family, with Rubens himself, it is said, as a halberdier—disappeared during the revolutionary wars, at the time when the picture was cut to pieces to facilitate its removal. The fragments, as we see them, give the idea of a decorative picture rather broadly painted; the portraits are Venetian in character, the upper part of that nondescript style that we have already recognised in earlier works—a style in which the graces of Correggio are superimposed upon what is perhaps a survival

of Otto Vaenius. The head of the Gonzaga duke resembles, in a measure, the portraits that Rubens subsequently painted of himself. I think that the artist may have taken the *bel air* of Vincenzo as a standard for his general deportment; at any rate, the Duke's *coiffure* probably served as model for him.

Of the other works painted for the Jesuit Church at Mantua, the 'BAPTISM OF CHRIST' has, after many peregrinations, found its way to the gallery at Antwerp. This is a strange picture. Rubens seems to have been bent on showing proof in it of the wide field and the thoroughness of his Roman studies. In composition the canvas is divided into two parts—the Baptism proper, to the left, is perhaps based upon one of the little panels of Raphael's famous Loggia. The nude figures to the right are taken directly from the lost cartoon of Michelangelo, where a group of soldiers is represented, rapidly drawing on their clothes, on an alarm while bathing. As it hangs now, high up over the entrance of one of the large rooms in the Antwerp Gallery, the picture is in its way impressive; there is a touch of nature in the effect of scattered sunlight finding its path through the trees, and the scheme of colour—perhaps scarcely the original one—is pleasing. One is reminded not a little of Tintoretto, while the ruddy flesh-tints recall the Florentine and Roman painters of a previous generation. But the charm that may be found in this scholarly early picture has absolutely no relation to the impression produced by the other famous works of Rubens in the gallery.

Of the remaining picture that Rubens painted for the church at Mantua—'THE TRANSFIGURATION' (it is now in the provincial museum at Nancy)—it is enough to say that it closely follows the well-known work that Raphael left unfinished at his death.

III. I now come to the last important picture or group of pictures of the Italian period—the great canvas that Rubens painted in 1607, the last of the years of wandering. It was no small honour to receive a commission for the magnificent church not long since erected at the instigation of S. Filippo Neri, and dedicated to the Virgin and St. Gregory. Of the history of this picture—the 'MADONNA ADORED BY SAINTS'—I have already said something (see p. 24 *seq.*). It is essentially a decorative work, conceived rather in the manner of the Bolognese artists of the day, of Domenichino, for instance, whose 'Last Mass of St. Jerome' was painted about this time. But in Rubens's work there are still many recollections of Correggio. It may perhaps be regarded as the transition from the early imitative pictures to those painted in

what is known as his first style. The dark shadows, the quality of the flesh-painting, and a certain aim at romantic effect, still point to the earlier ideals; but the scheme of colour (certain tricks especially for gaining effect) and the elaborate architectural background, give the picture a general air that we associate with Rubens as we know him in the earlier Antwerp period. In the centre above is a bust of the Virgin, covering the miraculous picture; below is a group of stately saints, in the centre stands St. Gregory, magnificently robed and gazing upwards in adoration. But this fine picture was not destined to remain in the Chiesa Nuova. When placed in position before the altar the reflection from the lofty windows on either side obliterated all the details. Nothing remained but to replace it by an entirely new work, painted this time on slate. This is the picture, or rather group of pictures—for the crowded composition was now distributed into three compartments—that now stands in the church. It is certainly remarkable that in this second picture—hastily executed, no doubt—Rubens distinctly appears to go back to older types; this is especially the case in the heads of the angels who here appear to wear carefully curled black wigs—a bit of mannerism most characteristic of his very early work. That this should be so certainly suggests the idea that the earlier picture which the artist brought back with him to Antwerp may have been worked upon by Rubens at a later date—this suggestion, however, M. Rooses emphatically rejects. How the original work passed to the abbey church of St. Michel has already been indicated—there the picture was seen by Sir Joshua. Seized by the French at the time of the occupation of Antwerp, it has found its way to a provincial French gallery. A visit to Grenoble is still necessary to see the first really great work of Rubens.

These, then, are the principal pictures of the Italian period—the triplet painted for Sta. Croce, a second triplet for the Jesuit Church at Mantua, and finally the two versions of the altar-piece for the Chiesa Nuova. To the number may be added the 'CIRCUMCISION,' a large altar-piece presented to the Church of S. Ambrogio at Genoa by Nicolo Pallavicini, the banker of the Duke of Mantua. In this picture the influence of Correggio reaches its culminating point. The flight of youthful but not infant angels circling round the Holy Name, would seem to come direct from the great frescoes at Parma, or again from the far-famed 'Notte,' then in a church at Reggio.

Now there is much in common between all these pictures. In nearly all may be seen certain adolescent angels, of a feminine type,

with black locks, carefully combed, oiled, and curled. These sentimental figures differ entirely from the plump and roguish little boys that do duty for them in later works. In no one of them, unless it be the earlier picture painted for the Chiesa Nuova, can we see anything more than traces of the conception or the handling that we regard as an essential element in a picture of Rubens—a conception and handling which, once adopted, underwent but unimportant modifications during a period of twenty years. Rubens had not as yet made up his mind, or rather he seems very nearly to have made up his mind in a very unsatisfactory way. He was now a man of thirty; he had been at work with oil paints for at least sixteen years. There is no want of knowledge of the craft in such works as the Chiesa Nuova pictures, or even in those painted for Duke Vincenzo. The point is that they differ on the face of them—there is no need to analyse further the points of difference—from the work that Rubens turned out on his return to Antwerp. On the other hand, they have among themselves just enough in common to allow us to establish for Rubens an early or Italian manner.

I must now turn to the pictures painted by Rubens during his mission to the Spanish court as bearer of presents from the Duke of Mantua to King Philip and his minister. These, we find, form a group somewhat apart. The young painter was for the time freed from the entanglements that the promiscuous study of the great Italian masters had woven around him. He 'let himself go,' and for the first time perhaps had an opportunity for displaying his gifts for improvisation and rapid execution.

First in order come the two pictures of the 'WEEPING' and 'LAUGHING PHILOSOPHERS,' now in the Prado, along perhaps with a third picture of the same class, an 'ARCHIMEDES'[1] with his hand on a sphere—hastily painted works in which the aim was the rendering of character. This was a direction rather foreign to Rubens's nature, and, as a consequence, these works are little better than caricatures. The equestrian portrait, four yards in height, that he painted of the Duke of Lerma, has disappeared. But, on the other hand, if in the life-size portrait of a Spanish nobleman, mounted on a heavy-limbed charger with flowing mane (now belonging to the Countess of Clam-Gallas), we are to recognise the 'DUCA DEL INFANTADO,' the son of the favourite, and to see in it a work the master executed at this time, Rubens would appear to have already reached the level attained by the Spanish school

[1] This picture, now a mere wreck, is given by some to Rubens's last period!

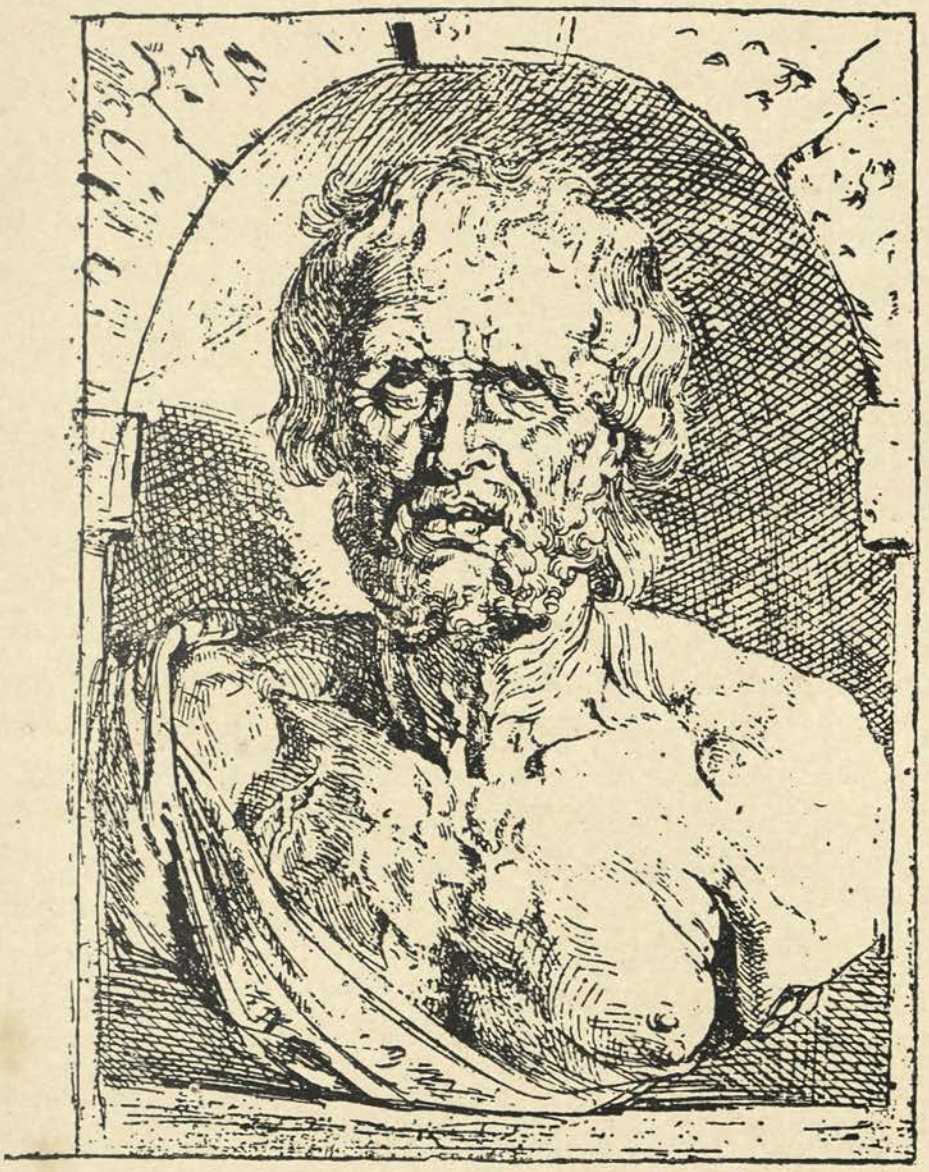
some twenty years later. It is enough to say of this fine manly work that it was at one time attributed to Velazquez. For the Duke of Lerma he painted also the heads of the 'TWELVE APOSTLES'—the thirteenth head, that of Christ, is missing—now in the Prado. Here again the attempt was made in each instance to characterise the temperament, by means of the expression of the features and of the gestures; this has, in the case of most of the heads, been overdone, and the result is again an approach to caricature. Twice, if not thrice, in later days the series was repeated with greater or less assistance from his pupils.

These are all the pictures that can be ascribed with any certainty to the time of the first visit of Rubens to Spain.

At Madrid, indeed, in the Academy of San Fernando, is an important work that has been attributed to this period. But in the 'ST. AUGUSTINE BETWEEN CHRIST AND THE VIRGIN,' the robust and emphatic monk is twin-brother to the 'St. Francis' of Cologne and Lille, both works of a later date. At the same time, it is possible to find a certain Spanish sentiment in this large canvas. Here, then, we have an interesting problem. If we accept the 'St. Augustine' as a work of this early period, should we not allow of a Spanish influence in an important group of later works? Or should we find the connecting link between these pictures in the influence of a certain theological teaching, a devotional attitude, that had spread from Spain to the Low Countries?

I do not think that there are any copies from Titian extant that can be definitely attributed to the time of this visit. As for the portraits of Spanish beauties painted for the cabinet of the Duke of Mantua, all trace of them has disappeared.

There still remain to be considered quite a number of pictures that on one ground or another have been attributed to the Italian period. I am personally inclined to find a later date for many of these works. Some of them seem to me to be merely poor examples of the first Antwerp period—they have nothing in common either with the pictures painted in Spain or with that eclectic style founded mainly on Correggio and the Venetians that we recognise in the three important early groups of definitely known date that have been already described. On the other hand, I think that Rubens may have been the painter of not a few works in Italian galleries passing now under various names and attributed to various schools—pictures, in fact, that have few or none of the characteristics of the Flemish painter. Indeed



BUST OF THE 'PSEUDO-SENECA'

(FROM A UNIQUE IMPRESSION IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM OF AN ETCHING ATTRIBUTED TO RUBENS)

it is doubtful whether, apart from documentary evidence, such pictures as the 'Circumcision' at Genoa, or the great altar-piece in the Chiesa Nuova, would ever have been attributed to Rubens.

Rubens was at Genoa for a few weeks in 1607, and this was probably not his first visit. We know that he received commissions from Genoese noblemen, and that he painted portraits of members both of the Grimaldi and of that Spinola family with whose most famous representative he was at a later date so intimate (now at Kingston Lacy). The portrait of BRIGITTA SPINOLA is signed in full and dated 1606. At Genoa, too, he studied architecture (cf. p. 25), and with the visit of 1607 we may perhaps connect some of the architectural backgrounds that play so important a part in many of his pictures. Apart from the 'Circumcision' in S. Ambrogio and the just mentioned portraits, there is, however, no picture extant that can be definitely brought into connection with a visit to that city.

There is a group of pictures that we may associate with Rubens's brother, the scholarly Philip, and with the learned friends of the latter, with Woverius above all, and their common master Lipsius.

Let us start with the portrait of WOVERIUS, now in the collection of the Duke of Arenberg. He is seated at a table looking up from his book; above his head in a niche we see the pedestal of a bust (probably that of Seneca) and to the left a landscape with ruins. This may well be a work of the Italian period, though it would be rash to attempt to fix the exact date. If we now turn to the famous picture of the 'FOUR PHILOSOPHERS' in the Pitti at Florence, we see to the right the same seated figure; at the head of the table the grim, almost tragic head of Lipsius dominates the group—this last has all the signs of a posthumous portrait. Opposite Woverius is seated Philip Rubens, pen in hand, and behind him stands his younger brother, the artist. There is a sorrowful expression in all the faces. The bust of Seneca[1] is here seen in full, and the Roman landscape that appears through an opening is the same as that in the Woverius portrait. Now this picture is to my mind obviously a *cento*, begun perhaps in Italy, but the head of the artist, and probably that of Philip also, were added at a later time, perhaps by another hand. The photograph, as indeed often happens in such cases, tells a tale of alterations and additions. Notice the mass

[1] This identical bust is now, I believe, in an English collection. It is not, however, now regarded as representing Seneca. An unique etching, probably of this very bust, in the British Museum, is perhaps by Rubens.

of dark that surrounds the head of Philip.[1] What is still more conclusive is that the head of Rubens is that of a man of at least thirty-five. It is indeed nearly identical with the Uffizi portrait, which M. Rooses puts as late as 1628 (but this is surely too late).[2] Lipsius died in 1606, and Philip Rubens in 1611, and we shall probably be safe in regarding the 'Four Philosophers' as a memorial picture painted, or at least completed, after the latter date. We may also connect with it 'the portrait in oval' that Sir Joshua saw over the tomb of Philip in the church of St. Michel, a picture we now only know from an engraving. The bust of the pseudo-Seneca (see p. 19), on the other hand, carries us back to the picture in the Pinakothek, where the expiring philosopher is seen standing in his bath, dictating his parting instructions to his friends, after his veins had been opened. This is undoubtedly an early picture, painted probably in Rome. Here again Rubens and his learned friends were under a misconception. The nude figure is taken directly from a realistically treated statue of an old fisherman (now in the Louvre but then in the Villa Borghese) which was at the time held to represent the dying Seneca. Rubens made several studies of this statue (they are in the Hermitage) which, as we now know, has nothing to do with the tutor of Nero. Finally, as regards the landscape seen through the opening, both in the Woverius portrait and in the 'Four Philosophers,' this may at once be recognised as identical with the charming little panel of the 'PALATINE HILL,' now in the Louvre, the earliest landscape by Rubens that has come down to us. Simple in colour, this eminently classical scene was painted under the influence of the Roman school, while the streaky lines of the luminous sky call to mind certain backgrounds of the later Venetian masters. It is a view of the mighty ruins on the Palatine hill; the market-girl with the scarlet petticoat, so important a factor in the effect, is perhaps a subsequent addition. A later engraving of this landscape by Schelte a Bolswert bears the inscription *'Pet. Paul Rubens pinxit, Romae.'*

The 'LANDSCAPE WITH A RAINBOW,' also in the Louvre, is generally ascribed to the Italian period. The treatment of the sky and the distance to the right call to mind the work of Paul Bril;

[1] I have been told by a distinguished connoisseur who lately examined this picture, that he was struck by the different handling of the two parts. This judgment was quite independent of any extrinsic evidence. Observe, too, the awkward crossing of the hands to the left.

[2] Herr Rosenberg boldly evades the difficulty by dating the Uffizi portrait '*circa* 1602' seeing in it a man of twenty-five, against the fifty-one or fifty-two of M. Rooses! After this one may be excused for taking an independent view, both here and in other cases.

here again the figures appear to belong to a later time; some patches of vermilion on their robes are the only passages of positive colour. This use of patches of bright red is, as we shall see, characteristic of the first Antwerp period. Another version (in the Hermitage) of the same landscape, with, however, fewer sheep, is placed by Rooses as late as 1615. Besides this there are renderings of the subject in the possession of Lord Carnarvon and of Lord Plymouth.

In the gallery at Aix-la-Chapelle is a little picture illustrating the fable of 'THE COCK AND THE PEARL' which we may safely attribute to the Italian period. There was in Rome at this time a German doctor, a man of some note in his day, one Johann Faber. Faber, writing in 1651 (*Rerum Medicarum Novae Hispaniae Thesaurus*), speaks of Rubens as a lover of bronzes and ancient marbles; like his brother Philip, he says, he was a pupil and a worthy successor of Justus Lipsius. 'On one occasion at Rome when, with the aid of God, I had the good fortune to cure him of a pleurisy from which he was greatly suffering, he painted for me a cock, which he accompanied with this witty and learned legend: "To the famous Johannes Faber, Doctor of Medicine, my Aesculapius, I dedicate this picture, in consequence of a vow made for the re-establishment of my health when I was condemned." On a large canvas he painted my portrait.' The illness of Rubens was probably in the spring of 1606. The portrait of Faber has disappeared.

I do not know of any other important pictures that can with absolute certainty be attributed to the Italian period, unless it be the large and sketchy 'ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON' of the Prado. This picture was bought by Philip IV. from Rubens's studio after his death. The figure of the princess to the left calls to mind the St. Domitilla of the Chiesa Nuova altar-piece. Though painted entirely in the Italian manner, in the exaggerated violence of the action of the horse and rider we have, I think, the earliest instance of that aim at the expression of dynamic force, the successful rendering of which in later days distinguishes Rubens from all other masters.

There still remains, however, a group of pictures that are generally regarded as having been painted in Italy. I do not think that in a single case there is any documentary proof of this. The pictures in question are essentially Flemish in colour and general handling; in the painting of the flesh, above all, the smooth surfaces and glazings of the Antwerp period are already to be observed if they are not fully developed. Take the 'ROMULUS AND REMUS' of the Capitol Museum

as an example; if this is a work of the same period as the altar-piece in the Chiesa Nuova or the 'St. George' of the Prado, Rubens must have been working at the same time in two diametrically opposed styles, carrying on two distinct traditions, of which one was dropped once for all on his return to the North, and the other continued with little further development.[1] Other examples of the same class are the 'St. Jerome' of Dresden, a picture essentially Flemish in style, the 'Two Satyrs' at Munich, and the two Dresden pictures, the 'Hero Crowned' and the 'Drunken Hercules,' of which I have already spoken. The 'Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine,' that has so strangely passed to America from an English Ducal collection (it was seen by Waagen at Stafford House), is difficult to class. St. Catherine calls to mind a Venetian Magdalen, the Virgin is of a distinctly Bolognese type, and in the head of St. Joseph the influence of Caravaggio may perhaps be traced; there remains the infant Christ, and his fat little legs are quite characteristic of the Rubens of Antwerp times.

I reserve what I have to say of the small, unfinished 'Resurrection' of the Pinakothek and of its companion, the 'Fall of the Damned,' in the Suermondt collection at Aix-la-Chapelle. They will be best considered along with the huge pictures of the same class now in the Munich Gallery.

In addition to the vast number of studies and drawings that Rubens made at this time from the works of the Italian masters—it may indeed be said that this was his principal occupation during these years—he made careful copies in oil of no inconsiderable number of pictures, chiefly of the Venetian school. Many of those that were found in his house at his death cannot now be identified. In the inventory of the *Succession*[2] there are ten pictures attributed to Titian, and as many as thirty copies by Rubens of the Venetian master. I will here only mention the most important of the copies made at this time that have survived.

The 'Triumph of Julius Cæsar,' in the National Gallery, is the only one of 'the three canvases, after Mantegna, mounted on panel,' of the Inventory (see p. 68) that can now be traced. In these Rubens concentrated and freely summarised the long series of tempera

[1] Yet this is not impossible. On the other hand, even after Rubens's return to Antwerp, we shall find occasional reversions to his eclectic Italian manner. The 'Romulus' is placed by M. Rooses as early as 1602.

[2] I can find no English word corresponding to the French '*succession*' or the German '*Nachlass*.' The word 'estate' is hardly sufficiently explicit.

paintings by Mantegna that have found their way from Mantua to the galleries of Hampton Court. M. Michel suggests that these free copies may have been painted when Rubens was in London in 1628-29, but I do not think that the Duke of Mantua's pictures had by that time arrived in England. In any case, only the right hand half of the canvas is taken from Mantegna; for the beautiful group to the left and the Roman landscape above Rubens is alone responsible. He was perhaps attracted as much by the subject—the wealth of classical detail—as by any merit that he saw in the work of the Italian master.

Of all the copies made by Rubens, the most beautiful, without doubt, are the versions of two of the three famous mythological scenes (the third is our 'Ariadne' of the National Gallery) that Titian had painted for the Duke of Ferrara. Rubens reproduced the 'SACRIFICE TO VENUS' and the 'BACCHANALS,' which were then in the Aldobrandini Palace at Rome. The originals have passed to Madrid, while Rubens's copies are to be seen in the Royal Gallery at Stockholm. It is perhaps not an exaggeration to say that these are the most beautiful and interesting copies that have ever been made by one master of another, the more interesting, as the originals have suffered so much since the day of Rubens; the 'Sacrifice' is now a mere wreck, cold and inharmonious. In the version of the Fleming the glorious colours of Titian are seen as it were through a glass of warm amber tint. Though carefully following the lines of the Venetian model, the copies are in spirit and temperament essentially the work of Rubens.

Of the other so-called copies of Titian that Rubens made while in Italy, I can only mention in passing the portrait of 'ISABELLA D'ESTE,' the original of which he found in the palace at Mantua, and the 'VENUS AT HER TOILETTE'; both these, as well as some other female heads, are now in Vienna. The first (in the Imperial Museum) is a fairly accurate rendering of the original: but the 'Venus' (in the Liechtenstein Gallery) has very little of Titian about it, and is probably of later date.

NOTE, p. 89. I have the authority of Señor de Beruete for stating that the equestrian portrait of the Duke of Lerma which Rubens painted while in Spain is to be identified with a picture now belonging to the Count of Valdelagrana, to whose family it has passed by inheritance from the Duke of Medinaceli.

CHAPTER IX

Portraits of Isabella Brant—The 'Elevation' and 'Deposition'—The Principal Pupils and Assistants—Treatment of the Nude in the Earlier Antwerp Period—Religious and Profane Pictures of the Earlier Years.

WITHIN little more than a year of his return to Antwerp Rubens had established himself as the most distinguished and the most sought-after painter of the day. As court-painter to the Archdukes he received a pension of 500 florins, and, as we have seen, was freed from all the harassing regulations of the Guild of St. Luke.

The organisation of his studio, so as to allow of the steady outturn of the great canvases and panels, must have been the principal task of the first few years. Already, in 1611, he protests that as many as a hundred would-be pupils had to be turned away, and that all applicants had to wait their turn (see p. 31). We have absolutely no information as to these earliest pupils, nor do we know how soon he began in part to replace them by 'assistants,' working at a fixed salary. The elder Teniers, and that Deodato del Monte who had accompanied him to Italy, are said to have been working in Rubens's studio before 1616. Even previous to that year Antoon Sallaert (1590- after 1647), already a painter of some distinction, may have come from Brussels to assist him, and Frans Snyders, who had returned from Italy a year later than Rubens, soon found abundant work in the great *atelier* as a painter of animals and still life. Jan Breughel's intimacy with our painter had perhaps begun before the Italian journey—he was no assistant of Rubens, but collaborated with him on equal terms.

At the time of the return of Rubens, the painters most in vogue at Antwerp, although on the whole to be classed as Italianisers, were for one reason or another turning out works distinctly more Flemish in style than had been the case twenty years previously. In fact, quite apart from the genius of Rubens, a school composed, it is true, of 'Romanists' for the most part, but for all that one of a distinctly Flemish type, was growing up under the direction of such men as Abraham Janssens, Marten Pepijn, and Henri van Balen, to say

nothing of the many younger members of the Francken family. The work of these men was for many years little influenced by the new master. They must indeed in some degree themselves have influenced his work, unconsciously no doubt; no painter, unless he be a recluse and an eccentric, and Rubens was nothing of the kind, can entirely escape the reflection of his artistic *milieu*. We must remember that even in Rome at this time the Northern painters, the Brils and Elsheimers for instance, were already as much the teachers as the pupils of their Italian contemporaries. At Antwerp, a little later, Rubens yielded at times to the fashion that favoured the minutely finished work of Van Balen and Breughel, but this was with him little more than a passing fancy.

In October 1609 Rubens was married to Isabella Brant, and the picture that he painted at the time of his young bride seated beside him under a honeysuckle bower may be reckoned as the earliest of his great portraits. The relation of this work (now in the Pinakothek) to the still earlier painting of the flower-girl and her lover at Grosvenor House I have already mentioned (see p. 82). What is most remarkable about it is that we have here what is perhaps the most intensely Flemish picture that Rubens ever painted, as it is at the same time the one that is most distinctly 'intimate,' and I may say *bourgeois* in character. It is, in fact, a work quite apart from his other pictures of the time. Perhaps it is the elaborate painting of the quaint costume—what we should call Jacobean, as opposed to the Caroline fashion of later works—that calls to mind the portraits, immensely inferior of course, that Van Somers and others were at this time painting at the Court of James I. The puce gown of the bride and the yellow stockings of Rubens are of tints that are not found in later works of the master. The tone of colour is very low; Sir Joshua notes of this picture that 'the linen is grey; he was at this time afraid of white.'

Rubens painted Isabella many times after this, but none of the later portraits are works of any great artistic importance. We can trace in them the gradual sharpening of the already marked features, the pinching of the mouth, and the increasing projection of the cheek-bones. At the time of her death, in 1626, Isabella was only thirty-five, and the portrait in the Hermitage was probably painted not long before that date. In spite of the kindly smile, we can see traces of suffering patiently borne in this most sympathetic face.[1]

[1] The Windsor portrait with orange blossom, in which M. Rooses sees a likeness of Isabella, I reserve till I come to speak of the Fourment family. (See p. 163.)

To return to the works carried out soon after Rubens's return from Italy—there is no need to dwell upon the uninteresting 'DISPUTE ON THE SACRAMENT'—a picture painted probably as early as 1609—now in the church of St. Paul. It received the honour of removal to Paris in 1794; strangely enough, after its return to Antwerp the work was no longer considered worthy of Rubens, and it was for long attributed to Antoon Sallaert.

As early perhaps as 1608, at any rate in the following year, Rubens received a commission for a large picture to be placed in one of the chambers of the Antwerp Town Hall. At the same time, and for the same room (it is now the *Salle des Mariages*), Abraham Janssens, then a man of thirty-five, painted the strange picture now in the museum, where the Scheldt and the town of Antwerp are represented by a river-god and a nymph. This last picture M. Rooses, somewhat strangely, calls a work manifestly of the school of Rubens. Considering the date at which it was painted—Rubens was at the time a newcomer to Antwerp — is not this putting the cart before the horse? I would rather see in this good decorative piece, carefully painted and rich in colour, an example of the Antwerp school at the time of Rubens's return from the South, one of the works that were not without their influence upon the still impressionable painter.

Rubens, on his part, with that happy inconsequence so characteristic of him—the subject of a picture mattered little if it only gave the opportunity for the display of his talents—chose for his theme the 'ADORATION OF THE MAGI,' the earliest of a series of mighty canvases and panels, on which the three Eastern kings, with their gorgeous and motley retinue, do service through a long course of years. In this picture, crowded and confused in composition, the varied and brilliant colours are expended with little more skill or economy than in the works of the Franckens or of Marten de Vos. For it is indeed of the work of the older Antwerp contemporaries of Rubens that this pasticcio reminds us, above all in the way in which use is made of the Italian masters. The nude muscular figures in the centre are taken from studies of Italian galley-slaves, most likely at second hand. But notice the figure of the Moorish King—this is the first appearance of a type that we shall see in many a subsequent work. Only three years after its completion Rubens's 'Adoration' was carried off to Spain by a Spanish diplomat, to whom it had been presented by the town council; it is now in the Prado. It has been supposed that some thirty inches of canvas on the right-hand side,

including the figure on horseback in which the features of the artist have been recognised, were added twenty years later, when Rubens was again in Madrid. There is certainly a strange break in the composition, very noticeable in the photograph. But the addition, if any, I should rather regard as a contemporary one, perhaps necessitated by the exigencies of the position assigned to the work. What is of interest in this picture is to find that so much remains of the Italian mannerism; for Rubens had already by this time painted pictures in which these petty affectations had been thrown aside.

I now come to the earliest of the world-renowned creations of Rubens—the 'ELEVATION OF THE CROSS,' which stands in the Cathedral at Antwerp as a pendant to the somewhat later and still more famous 'Descent.' The 'Elevation' was painted for the old church of St. Walburga, and it was there that Sir Joshua saw it on the occasion of his Flemish tour in 1781. It was at the instigation of his friend, the rich merchant Cornelis van der Geest, that Rubens obtained the commission. Van der Geest was a noticeable connoisseur of pictures and, what was exceptional at this time, an admirer of the early Flemish painters, above all of Quentin Massys (cf. note, p. 121). He is described by Rubens at a later date as the best of men and the oldest of his friends and protectors. (This in a letter written on the occasion of his patron's death in 1638.) Van der Geest's face is well known to us, for his portrait by Vandyke is one of the greatest treasures of the National Gallery. The high altar of St. Walburga where the 'Elevation' was placed, was approached from the nave by a steep flight of steps. The picture then commanded the whole church from a lofty position.[1] Rubens painted, or at least completed, the picture on the spot, working behind a screen of canvas that was erected for the occasion. He was engaged on this altar-piece during the summer of 1610. With its completion we may connect the definite establishment of the great Flemish School of the seventeenth century.

The central idea of the 'Elevation' is no doubt the opposition between the calm and motionless figure on the Cross, with eyes uplifted to heaven, and the noisy striving crowd around. With bent

[1] Sir Joshua Reynolds notes of this work that 'the appearance of heaviness when seen near entirely vanishes when the picture is viewed from the body of the church, to which you descend from the choir by 20 stairs.' Both this picture and still more the 'Deposition' were in a deplorable condition when Reynolds saw them. Of the latter he says: 'It is mortifying to see to what degree it has suffered by cleaning and mending: that brilliant effect which it undoubtedly once had is lost in the mist of varnish.'

backs and strained muscles, those who raise the Cross seem barely able to complete the task that is set them. Sir Joshua did not miss this—'the bustle that is in every part of the picture makes a fine contrast to the character of resignation in the crucified Saviour.' This note of opposition is taken up again in the wing to the left, where, above a confused and restless group of wailing women, young and old, the sad, silent figures of John and Mary stand apart, gazing motionless at the tragic spectacle. Here, too, the contrast is accentuated by the colours employed—on the one hand, the deep blues and greys of the solemn figures above, on the other, the brilliant garments of the gesticulating women in the foreground. The crimson robe of the young mother below is the most vigorous piece of colouring in the whole triptych. In the central composition there is indeed a singular absence of positive colour. But little use is made of the broad masses of unmitigated vermilion that, as we shall see, play so important a part in the colour scheme of the period that follows. One patch there is—the turbaned figure to the right of the Cross—otherwise the effect depends upon contrast of light and shade.

There is in the Louvre a large drawing in black chalk and wash, where we see the first thought of this scene. The composition has not yet been divided into three compartments. The figure on the Cross is lost amid a confused crowd—it is a scene of sound and fury, and the commotion seems to have spread to the threatening sky above. In desperate haste the Cross is raised, as if to forestall some natural convulsion. Two other sketches, both in oil (one at Dorchester House) intervene between this grand conception and the completed picture. The composition now arranges itself in more subtle and scholarly lines, and falls apart into three groups. The figure of Christ comes to be more prominent and takes its place in the main line of the design, which now descends diagonally from left to right. But the weight of the Cross is still supported by the gigantic galley-slave, as in the sketch, the protagonist of the drama.

And yet, for all this advance in the composition, in the completed picture we miss the fire and inspiration of the first conception. The scene has become a static one. The Cross no longer sways upward to assume its final place, for the men at the ropes, for all their striving, can barely maintain it in its present position. In the sketch Rubens has attained to the expression of dynamic energy and rapid movement, but he has not yet mastered the difficulties involved in transferring this living power to the finished picture—this was to come later.

STUDY FOR ELEVATION OF THE CROSS

LOUVRE, PARIS

For a detailed analysis of this great work, I must refer the reader to the admirable description by Sir Joshua, which I regret I cannot find space to quote (*Journey to Flanders*). It is of interest as the practical description of a painter nearer to Rubens than we are in many respects. Sir Joshua was still under the influence of the old traditions of the schools, and was ready to accept much that is now regarded as artificial and conventional. As for Rubens, at this time more especially, he was steeped in these traditions. We, on the other hand, pay little attention to what I may call style.

And here I may say, that the modern critic finds a great difficulty in entering into the spirit with which these subjects from sacred history—those from the Passion of Christ above all—are treated by Rubens. The religious emotion is not absent, but it is a rhetorical emotion, one with which an Englishman of the twentieth century is not much in sympathy. Rubens, however, admirably interpreted a certain vein of sentiment that may be associated with the Jesuit teaching of the seventeenth century, and in connection with this sentiment he found much that appealed to him as being admirably suited for artistic treatment. For one thing, the 'emotional discharge,' so favoured by the teaching, allowed great freedom to the artist in the display of varying gestures not only in the principal figures but also in the attendant crowd. As to the sincerity or insincerity of the emotion, this is not a question that concerns us here directly. But, none the less, doubt upon this point has certainly done not a little to put us out of sympathy with much of the work of Rubens, just as, on the other hand, in the case of Rembrandt, confidence in his sincerity has brought that painter nearer to our hearts.

The 'Elevation' is generally regarded as the final word of Rubens while working in his 'first manner'—the consummation of his Italian training: with the 'DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS,' begun little more than a year later, the 'second manner' is held to have its glorious opening. Such a line of demarcation is no doubt useful if only as an aid to the memory among the profuse and varied outturn from the artist's studio at this time. But, so it seems to me, the later picture is in some respects a return to the ideals of the Roman painters of the day, while the 'Elevation,' the grand first sketch above all, marks the upheaval of an original conception that had its birth in the mind of the artist. If, however, we confine ourselves to technical considerations there is no doubt good ground for the usually accepted division. In the later work there is a great advance towards simplicity of composition, concentration of effect, and economy of colour; there is some tendency

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towards the fusion of touch that characterises the later work of Rubens. But the Antwerp 'Deposition' seems to me a very exceptional work, having little relation to the bulk of the pictures that Rubens painted in the ensuing years.

The 'Deposition from the Cross' was painted for the Guild of the *Arbalétriers*, who had an altar in the south transept of the Cathedral; here the great triptych was placed, and here, or close by, apart from a passing visit to Paris, it has remained ever since. In the archives of the *Serment* or Guild, of which at that time Nicolas Rockox, the burgomaster of Antwerp, was president, some entries relating to this work have been found that throw light on the social life of the time. No business could be contracted without an expenditure on drinking that would put to shame a London vestry. When the deputation from the guild visited the artist's studio there were vails for the students, and the wine-bill amounted each time to several florins. This was shortly before Rubens had taken up his abode in his new house, and the studio was then in an upper chamber, a loft it would seem, probably over the dwelling of the Brant family. The transfer of the great panel from this loft to the Cathedral was again a task necessitating the refreshing of many mouths. This transference was effected in September 1612, but the side panels were not completed till eighteen months later. The final payment that brought up the sum to the 2400 florins agreed upon was not made till 1622; but Isabella had long before this received the pair of richly embroidered gloves, the delivery of which formed part of the contract.

According to the commission originally given, Rubens was upon the new altar-piece to record the good deeds of St. Christopher, the patron-saint of the guild. But, as M. Rooses well remarks, the quaint story of the good giant, as told in the *Golden Legend*, had little charm for the learned artist, with his mind full of classical myths and allegories. The name Christopher means, however, 'bearer of Christ,' and thus interpreted there was a wide scope for the painter—in the centre the cross that bore our Lord, to the right, Simon with the infant Saviour in his arms, to the left, the Visitation, with the Virgin pointing to her precious charge. The good saint himself had to be contented with a place on the back of the wings. Here, when the shutters were closed, the great figure of the Christ-bearer looms out of the darkness, and the hermit waits with his lantern to receive the divine Child.[1]

[1] In the Pinakothek is a sketch for this subject, in which the hermit and St. Christopher are brought together on one panel.

The 'Descent from the Cross' is essentially a learned picture, learned both in the carefully considered grouping of the figures and in the richness of hue attained with the use of so little positive colour. The special triumph, however, of Rubens in this work is the effect obtained by the relief of the dead body against the slightly whiter background of the winding sheet. It is this that constitutes the undying attraction of the picture—the rest is mostly rhetoric and learned attitudinising. The industriously composed figures take their place in the scheme, but are of little interest individually. It is in this that we feel the difference from the treatment of the same subject by Rembrandt, although the Dutch artist doubtless learned much from this very picture. The best analysis of the 'Deposition' is that to be found in the *Maîtres d'Autrefois*. Much of this I would willingly quote—the passage, for instance, where Fromentin describes the beautiful white body as it slides down upon the shroud—did I not despair of rendering it in English. More manageable are the technical notes of the great critic, though here too the language of the *atelier* is hard to render in our tongue.

'The canvas is sombre in spite of its bright passages, and of the extraordinary whiteness of the winding sheet. . . . It is a picture with a blackish foundation, on which are disposed large, firm masses of light in no way toned down. The colouring is not very rich; it is full, sustained, carefully calculated to tell from a distance. . . . It is made up of a green that is almost black, of an absolute black, of a somewhat dull red, and of white. These four tones are placed edge to edge as frankly as is possible with notes of this violence; the contrast is sharp, and they do not suffer by it. . . . The pigment is smooth, compact, with a flow that is facile and prudent. . . . Rubens remembers, observes, restrains himself; he is in possession of all his forces, but keeps them in the background, and only uses half of them.'

The 'VISITATION,' which forms the left wing of the great triptych, is a charming composition, 'picturesque and homely in a noble way' says Fromentin, 'rich, though sober in colour.' 'Jamais le Flandre ne mit autant de bonhomie, de grâce et de naturel à se revêtir du style Italien.' In the Borghese Gallery we have what is probably an earlier version of this subject.

The 'DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS' is the subject of many other large pictures—six are enumerated by M. Rooses—that Rubens had a hand in at this time. They are all variants of the great Antwerp panel, differ-

ing more or less in the arrangement of the figures. In view of the fact that the composition is in every case inferior to that of the great triptych, in more than one, indeed, strikingly awkward, it is difficult to believe that they are subsequent in date. I have only had occasion to examine one of the series, the 'Deposition,' now in the Museum at Lille. Apart from certain obtrusively awkward attitudes, what struck me in this picture was the general want of fusion of the parts: it was a *cento* of clever bits. The colours are indeed more brilliant than in the Antwerp picture, but this may be in part the result of recent cleaning. There is documentary evidence that the damaged 'Deposition' at St. Omer was bought and fixed in its place in 1612, but this does not prove that it was not painted before that year. There are two versions of this subject at Arras and another at Valenciennes. We have, in fact, quite a group of these pictures in French Flanders. The remaining version of the 'Deposition,' after the great Antwerp panel perhaps the best of the series, is now in St. Petersburg. It was bought from the Empress Josephine, into whose hands it had passed from the church at Lierre for which it was painted.

To understand the conditions under which these variants of the Antwerp triptych were painted—no one of them is entirely by the hand of Rubens—we should have to know more than we do of the arrangement of the artist's great *atelier*, which by this time must have been thoroughly organised. Rubens may probably have made several experimental sketches for the 'Deposition'—in oil, on panel, no doubt; these were then passed on to his assistants, or to his more advanced pupils, and the designs transferred by them to a large canvas or panel. In some cases the assistant may have only 'dead-grounded' the picture —to use the favourite expression of Sir Joshua—basing his work upon the sketch of the master, this last either in monochrome or with the colour only slightly indicated (innumerable are the oil sketches of this class—not all indeed by the master's hand—that survive). In other instances the work may have been so far carried forward by the assistant as only to require a few touches from Rubens's brush. Again, the bulk of the work may have been completed by the assistant, but one or two important figures left to be painted in by Rubens, or, finally, the process may have been reversed, and the figures by the master painted first, and the background and accessories added subsequently by one or more assistants. In view of these arrangements, we may well imagine that although the inferior versions of the 'Deposition' may only have left the studio after the completion of the Antwerp triptych, they, for

all that, may have been begun and the composition fixed at an earlier date.

It is universally acknowledged that of the pictures that pass as by Rubens, by far the larger number are only in part the work of his hand. The identification of the passages painted by the master himself is one of the principal tasks of the Rubens expert. Unfortunately, just as in the case of the determination of the date of one of his pictures, there is little unanimity of opinion on this point. Still more difficult is it when we have to deal with a work that is evidently in the main by one of the assistants, to put a name upon the painter responsible. We have not here the help of the Guild books, the *Liggeren*, for Rubens, as we have seen, was now a free lance, he was under no obligation to register his pupils in these books or to pay the requisite fees. What we know, then, of these assistants is dependent upon chance references, and for the identification of their work we in each case must go to such of their original pictures as are available. The most talented of his pupils Rubens was able to retain as paid assistants. It seldom happened that they could better their position, financially at least, by leaving his studio. Perhaps only in the case of Vandyke was this possible.

Of the earliest pupils of Rubens—of Deodato, and of Teniers—I have already spoken; both, it would seem, worked under him before his departure for Italy. This need not surprise us, as other similar cases are recorded. Vandyke had a pupil living with him while he was quite a lad.

There is a persistent tradition that the Brussels painter Antoon Sallaert had a hand in some of the pictures painted at this time, in the 'Elevation,' for instance, of which he is reputed to have painted the shutters, and again in the still earlier 'Sacrament.' This association with Rubens is the more remarkable, as Sallaert as a painter lies quite outside the Antwerp School.

But there were four men who were probably already at work in the studio of Rubens, and who continued in the closest connection with him up to the time of his death. These are names of the utmost importance for the student of Rubens, though only one of the number is widely known as an independent artist.

Frans Snyders (1579-1657) was born in Antwerp only two years after Rubens. They were in Italy at the same time, and they probably met in Rome. Snyders was a long-lived and prolific painter, but his work is of little interest when not lit up by the magic touches of Rubens. There are few of the older collections in England that do not

comprise examples of his still-life scenes and his hunting-pieces. His handsome and kindly face is well known from the portrait by Vandyke at Castle Howard. One of the pleasantest anecdotes in the old art histories tells of his relations to Jan Breughel, how each in turn when in distress was assisted by the other.

Paul de Vos (*c.* 1590-1678), who married the daughter of Snyders, was eleven or twelve years younger than his father-in-law. He was essentially an animal painter, but, in England at least, his pictures generally pass under the name of Snyders. To judge by some examples of his work at Brussels and in the Louvre, he was an admirable painter of dogs, of their coat above all. But his hunting scenes are wanting in the spirit of life and motion, and his colouring is dull and monotonous. De Vos was content to the end to work, for daily wages, it would seem, in Rubens's studio. A man of happy disposition and unambitious, his hearty, jovial features have been handed down in a fine portrait by Vandyke.

It is more difficult to determine the share taken in Rubens's pictures by Jan Wildens (1586-1653). Wildens was, it would appear, more than any other, the factotum of the studio, and all through life the intimate friend of the master. As an independent artist we know him as a very poor painter of hunting scenes and landscapes. A snow-piece of his may be seen at Dresden, and some topographical views at Brussels. Wildens was in Italy for several years after 1613, but on his return fell back into the place he had previously occupied in the great *atelier*. If in a picture by Rubens we come upon a passage of low-toned landscape broadly treated in the Italian manner, this part of the work may be safely attributed to Wildens.

Lucas van Uden (1595-1672) was younger than Wildens, and he survived his master for more than thirty years. He took his place as a distinguished landscape painter, but unlike Wildens his landscapes are essentially Flemish, comparatively rich in colour and in composition varied and broken up. He painted the green fields divided by wet ditches and lined by pollard willows—the same landscape in fact that provided material for Rubens in his later days.

These four then—Snyders, de Vos, Wildens, and Van Uden—are to be regarded as the most important among the numerous assistants of Rubens. Others may from time to time have taken a prominent place. Vandyke, a little later, eclipsed all his fellows. Then came Cornelis Schut, and later still van Thulden, and many besides. Each takes his allotted part in the great picture manufactory. No doubt

even the modest share of the profits that fell to them greatly exceeded what they could earn as independent painters.[1]

The twelve years that succeeded the return of Rubens to Antwerp were the most tranquil period of the artist's life. It was the time of the Great Truce, and there were as yet no politics to interrupt the steady outturn from the well-appointed studio. Within three, or at most five years of his settling in his new house, Rubens had adopted a style which, during all this period, and even later, he maintained with little change—apart, that is, from occasional excursions into what we may call the domain of other artists. He was occupied in about equal degree with sacred and mythological subjects; from these he turned at times to portraits or, more rarely, to landscapes. Perhaps, from our artistic standpoint, the more logical division of his work is, on the one hand, into pictures of which the *raison d'être* is the rendering of the nude—the selection of subject, whether sacred or profane, being guided by the occasion that it presented for finding broad surfaces of the unrobed figure—and, on the other hand, pictures in which the opportunity for the expression of rapid motion and impetus has determined the choice; such opportunity he found, above all, in hunting scenes and battle-pieces. If not acres, yet assuredly very many square yards of work of the first class may be seen at Antwerp and Munich. The manner of his rendering of flesh at this time is known to all who have ever cared to look at a picture of Rubens. The uniform, smooth, enamelled surfaces, the blue markings of the veins, the delicate warm glazings and the well-defined outlines, these are just the points that distinguish the work of this period from the later freer style. As to the rendering of rapid motion, it is enough to say that at this time what is aimed at does not as a rule 'come off.' In this respect there is nothing to compare to such later triumphs as the great 'Kermesse' of the Louvre, or even to our 'Rape of the Sabine Women.' The ambition is present already and the inner impulse, but except here and there in a sketch, the hand has not yet learned to express the vision in the brain.

Among the bewildering variety of subjects treated by Rubens it is some consolation to discover a certain tendency to 'runs.' We have already had an example of this in the case of the seven 'Depositions' painted within a few years. These sequences give us a lead in the

[1] There is no documentary evidence that Jordaens (1595-1678) ever worked in Rubens's studio, but that he did so is not unlikely. Jordaens early in life had had much practice in painting in tempera; this he learnt from his father. He excelled in the preparation of water-colour cartoons for the tapestry weavers. His experience in such work would have been of service to Rubens. See p. 187.

arrangement of our task. In following them up we are even encouraged now and again to kick over our chronological traces.

About the time when he was occupied with the 'Elevation,' Rubens painted for the church of the Franciscans—the 'Récollet' Church so rich in his works at the time it was visited by Sir Joshua—a life-sized 'CRUCIFIXION,' that now hangs in the Antwerp Museum. This is the finest of several works painted at this period, where the body of the crucified Saviour is relieved against a dark background; in this case the narrow strip of distant hills and buildings below calls to mind the Palatine landscape so often introduced in earlier compositions. There are smaller pictures of the same subject—at Hertford House, at Munich, and in the Museum at Malines—all vigorous in execution and marked by the same brown shadows. In the Liechtenstein 'ST. FRANCIS PRAYING BEFORE THE CRUCIFIX,' a closely allied picture, we have a transition to the Franciscan series, to which I shall come somewhat later.

Quite a number of works with subjects taken from the life of Christ belong to the time of the Antwerp 'Deposition.' They form, on the whole, an uninteresting class. The surface is smooth and enamel-like, the outline hard, and the attempt at the expression of emotion has led in some cases to very unpleasant results. One of the earliest of these is the triptych with the 'RESURRECTION' that Rubens painted for the tomb of Jan Moretus the printer (d. 1610), the father of his life-long friend Balthazar. This still hangs in one of the chapels of the apse of the cathedral at Antwerp—a dull uninteresting work that is generally passed over by the visitor.

One of the best known pictures of this period is the 'DOUBTING THOMAS' that Rubens painted for the tomb that his friend Nicolas Rockox had built for himself in the Récollet church (it is now in the museum). Fromentin's note on this work is brief—'Cela, un Rubens? Quelle erreur!' But for all that the rendering of the figure of Christ, nude to the waist, is a characteristic example of the artist's flesh-painting at this time; the modelling is skilfully indicated by grey-blue markings. On the wings are the likenesses of the donor and of his plain Spanish wife—the former a good bit of downright prosaic portraiture.

The 'WOMAN TAKEN IN ADULTERY,' formerly at Leigh Court, and now in the Royal Gallery at Brussels, is a work of the same calibre. High finish and brilliant colouring combine with careful, indeed laboured, rendering of facial expression to produce a most disagreeable picture.

The 'RETURN FROM EGYPT' that was in the Marlborough collection is a more broadly painted work. The treatment of the subject is unusual—the young Christ walks between his mother and Joseph. This picture is well known from the fine engraving by Vorsterman. There is a replica of the work at Holkham.

'CHRIST'S CHARGE TO PETER' ('Feed my Sheep,') now at Hertford House, was painted for a tomb in St. Gudule. It is an empty and rather feeble production. A not unsimilar work is the 'CHRIST GIVING THE KEYS TO PETER' that Jan Breughel placed over the tomb of his father in the church of La Chapelle at Brussels. This picture is now in a private collection in New York.

Rubens was able to find in the Old Testament many incidents of which he recognised the pictorial value. That most offensive subject, the 'DRUNKENNESS OF LOT' he painted twice at this time. The version engraved in 1612 by Swanenburg is lost, and the famous picture presented to Marlborough by the Emperor passed from Blenheim to the late Baron Hirsch, and is now, I think, in Paris. The grouping of the figures seated on the ground is repeated in several mythological subjects of the time.

Quite in a different spirit is the charming little picture of the 'DISMISSAL OF HAGAR,' of which one version is now in the Hermitage and another belongs to the Duke of Westminster. It is, indeed, a *genre* scene treated somewhat in the manner adopted later by Isaac Ostade.

The Guild of Musicians at Brussels was under the protection of 'Saint Job,' and from them, in 1612, Rubens received a commission for a large triptych illustrating the history of the patriarch. This much-admired work we know only from engravings and old copies, for, along with other pictures by Rubens, it perished during the bombardment of Brussels in 1695.

The 'SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS' in the Stockholm gallery is the earliest version of one of Rubens's most favourite subjects. It belongs to a small group of pictures of this period that are both signed and dated (1614)—for all that, a hastily executed little work, but not without charm. Apart from the inscription, one would certainly have been inclined to find for it a later date. In the large 'SUSANNA' at Madrid we may recognise the same model and the same dolphin fountain.

I have already spoken of the treatment that St. Francis, the poet and idealist, receives at the hand of Rubens. He appears as a burly, I had almost said a truculent friar, such as the artist might have seen any day in the church of the Récollets. For the church of the Capu-

chins at Lille Rubens, about 1615, painted the large 'ST. FRANCIS RECEIVING THE INFANT CHRIST FROM THE VIRGIN' now in the museum of that town. The head of St. Francis is indeed here not unsympathetic, and the *bambino* is a delightful bit of painting. The vermilion robe of the rather commonplace matron who represents the Virgin dominates the whole picture; upon it depends the colour effect of the other parts. For a church of the same order at Cologne Rubens executed a few years later the 'ST. FRANCIS RECEIVING THE STIGMATA' now to be seen in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum. This is a soundly executed but prosaic rendering of the famous scene. Only the heads of the two friars are usually attributed to Rubens; it seems to me, however, that the admirably painted weeds and brambles are, if not by the master, at least copied from a drawing by him; perhaps the elaborate study of brambles belonging to the Duke of Devonshire may have been made use of: the landscape as a whole may very reasonably be given to Wildens. This picture is carried out in grey-greens and browns. The total absence of positive colour should be noticed. In the 'ST. FRANCIS HOLDING THE CRUCIFIX' now at Oldenburg, a work painted rapidly with a thin *pâte*, we have an earlier picture where the sentiment is somewhat different. The 'convalescent,' sickly expression of the saint's face is the nearest approach that Rubens would make to the rendering of the Franciscan ideal.

To the early Antwerp period belongs the large picture painted for a Jesuit church that now hangs in the Rubens room in the Louvre. 'CHRIST ON THE CROSS WITH MARY, JOHN, AND ST. MAGDALENE' is a simply composed and impressive work. We have in it a typical example of a somewhat crude device, of which Rubens was much enamoured at this time, for 'pulling together' and enhancing the varied tints of his work. The robe of St. John is an unmitigated mass of the brightest vermilion. To some small extent the absence of shading in the folds might be thought to be due to the removal of the surface in cleaning; but in this and in some other similar cases I can see little sign that the picture has undergone any process of skinning. As in the Lille picture, and indeed in many others of this and later periods, the red mass here takes its place for an obvious purpose. To use the language of modern science—the fatigue from over-excitement of those elements in the retina that are sensitive to that colour, brings into prominence the stimulus given to other nerves by the blues and the greens; these nerves are then ready to accept, as brilliant examples of these latter colours, the greyish violets and dull greens to which indeed the artist has mostly

limited himself for the rest of the picture. If the student will examine closely the colouring of an average picture of this time, he will find that apart from the patches of vermilion and some passages of yellow, there is a total absence of positive hues; and yet, as a result mainly of the principle I have attempted to explain, the general effect is that of a rich and varied colouring.[1]

I will mention one other religious subject of this period, 'THE HOLY FAMILY WITH THE PARROT,' now in the museum at Antwerp. This picture Rubens painted for the Guild of St. Luke, perhaps as a compensation for the exemption from all dues and charges at the time of his appointment as court painter. In that case the picture might date as early as 1610 or 1611, but it is probably a little later. Few pictures have been so differently judged. Reynolds, who saw it in 1781 in the hall of the guild, fell foul of it at once. That he should find so much to blame in this work is the more remarkable, as, of all the pictures of Rubens, it would seem to be the one that had most influence on the later style of the English artist. He abused the picture, and then came home with his eye so full of its vigorous scheme of colour that we find this scheme reflected in more than one of his later works. The 'Holy Family with the Parrot' is a powerful picture painted under Venetian influences, somewhat coarse perhaps, both in colour-effect and in execution. The curious expression on the shrewd face of St. Joseph should be noticed; not less the beautiful landscape passage to the left with yellow sunset.

But if Rubens found abundant occupation in filling the gaps in the walls of the Antwerp churches, his brush was scarcely less in demand for quite another class of painting. The mythological and allegorical pictures that he turned out at this time were eagerly sought after—the demand came especially from the electors and other princes of the Empire, and the majority of these works are still to be found in German galleries. In most of these pictures the artistic aim does not differ from that we have dwelt upon in the case of the religious subjects of this time, but here perhaps the general emptiness of the conception is less repugnant to us; we accept as natural the obvious search for occasions for covering large surfaces with the deftly modulated enamel that serves to represent the nude human figure. What, however, we feel

[1] This is perhaps only another way of putting Chevreul's law of complementary colours, that exercised the minds of artists in the thirties and forties of the last century. Rubens 'called up' his cool tints by means of vigorous passages of positive colours from the warm end of the spectrum. The Venetians at times reversed the process.

the want of, are passages of repose in the uniformly illuminated surface, and, again, a greater fusing of the flesh surfaces with their surroundings. But for this we shall have to wait till a later time.

I shall pass rapidly over this early series of what may as a whole be classed as mythological nudes. In the museum at Cologne is a large picture purchased at the Dudley sale in 1892. The 'JUNO AND ARGUS,' we know from a letter of Rubens to De Bie the engraver, was already finished in 1611. This picture was at Manchester in 1857 and Bürger (Thoré), the French critic, who saw it there, took occasion to denounce it as an empty, inflated canvas 'of the Italian period,' with little work in it by the hand of Rubens. It seems to me a good early example of a decorative picture, if not all by the master's hand, yet thoroughly Rubens-like in sentiment. The central point of interest is the foreshortening of the body of Argus; this body and the crimson robe of Juno dominate the scene.

Not much later in date, probably, was the Marlborough 'RAPE OF PROSERPINE' that was burnt at Blenheim in 1861; the composition, as we see it in the engraving of Soutman, differed only from the much later 'Proserpine' at Madrid in being less concentrated. Waagen speaks of this large picture as a *chef-d'œuvre* entirely by the master's hand.

The 'PROMETHEUS AND THE EAGLE' now at Oldenburg, is mentioned in the list of the pictures offered to Carleton (p. 39 *seq.*). The eagle is there stated to be by Snyders. The foreshortening of the nude body may be compared with the decapitated 'Argus' in the nearly contemporaneous picture at Cologne.

The 'IXION DECEIVED BY JUNO' was long one of the treasures of Grosvenor House, where it was seen by Waagen. In this strange composition Juno appears twice, and the painter has not been at pains to distinguish the εἴδωλον from the genuine goddess. It was lent to the 'Old Masters' in 1895, but I am told that the late Duke got rid of this picture, and after passing through the hands of a French dealer, it found its way to the Yerkes collection in New York.

The following pictures form a somewhat later group. The 'JUPITER AND CALLISTO' in the Cassel gallery is a signed and dated panel (P. P. Rubens F. 1613). The arrangement of the two nude figures, excellent work by the master's own hand, may be compared with that in the 'Drunkenness of Lot.' The companion picture, the insipid and awkwardly composed 'VENUS, CERES, AND BACCHUS,' also at Cassel, is perhaps wholly from the brush of a pupil.

The 'VENUS FRIGIDA' (*Sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus*) is one of the most interesting pictures of this group, not only on account of the delightful painting of the rounded back of the goddess, but because there is something original and, what is rare in Rubens, quaint and humorous in the conception. It must be borne in mind that in this picture some eight inches of the panel to the left, as well as a similar amount of the upper portion, are later additions. This work, again, is signed and dated—P. P. Rubens F. 1614. (At Antwerp.)

The 'PERSEUS AND ANDROMEDA' of Berlin may probably be connected with the fresco (if fresco it was) that Rubens painted on the walls of his new house (see p. 33). This may perhaps account for the peculiar lightness of touch, as well as for the curious arrangement of this rather ill-composed work. It is indeed, what is unusual with the master at this period, a sketch on a large scale. A somewhat later version of the same subject is now in the Hermitage.

But perhaps the most perfect and typical example of the flesh painting of Rubens during the earlier Antwerp period (if indeed it should not be placed somewhat later) is the carefully executed 'BOREAS AND OREITHYIA,' now in the Academy at Vienna. Nowhere can his method of modelling the nude body by means of glazes of various depths be better studied.

Other mythological subjects of this time are the 'FAUN WITH BASKET OF FRUIT' (Vienna, Schoenborn Collection (?)), so like the very early 'Satyrs' of the Pinakothek, and the 'CERES' of the Hermitage, with the carefully designed architecture: both early examples of collaboration, for Snyders had his share in the first, and the garland of fruit in the second is the work of Breughel.

There still remains a long list, where goddesses and nymphs provide occasion for wide expanses of brilliant flesh-painting. The large 'ERICHTHONIUS AND THE DAUGHTERS OF CECROPS' of the Liechtenstein Gallery has the stamp of an early work. The nymph to the right calls to mind a figure in the still earlier 'Hero Crowned' of Dresden. At Belvoir Castle is another version of this subject.

The 'VENUS AND ADONIS' of the Hermitage is probably the earliest of a series, of which the most famous is the great canvas that was presented by the Emperor to the Duke of Marlborough. This picture was, I believe, bought in at the Blenheim sale in 1886; it now belongs to the Dowager Duchess. All these renderings of the reluctant Adonis are based more or less closely on the well-known picture by Titian; they form a passage to the 'Meleagers' and the

hunting scenes. The landscapes are in most cases, I think, by his faithful assistant Wildens, and either he or Snyders may have painted the dogs. They form as a whole an uninteresting group.

There remains a small group of pictures where Diana and her nymphs play their part as a pretext for the introduction of the nude. Here again we are naturally brought into connection with hunting scenes—not as much in the 'SLEEPING DIANA' of Hampton Court, which, before the surface was skinned off, was probably a marvellous example of flesh painting, a forecast in a grander style of the work of the French Boucher—as in such pictures as those at Dresden, where the goddess is represented as returning from the chase. Here too the Satyrs and the Fauns of the woodlands begin to play an important part, and we enter into those side tracks of the classical world of legend where, far below the Olympian heights, we may expect to meet the old wine-vanquished Silenus, reeling along in the midst of his ribald crew. It was in the rendering of such scenes as these that Rubens before long was to attain to mastery.

CHAPTER X

The First Twelve Years at Antwerp (*continued*)—Battle Scenes and Hunting Pieces—The 'Natural History' Series—Landscapes—Breughel and Elsheimer—Imitation of Earlier Masters—Garlanded Madonnas—The Apocalyptic Series.

AMONG all the pictures that we have so far considered, I do not think that it would be possible to point to a single one—unless it be the sketch for the great 'Elevation,' now in the Louvre—in which the rendering of motion plays an important part. Yet it was this power of conveying the impression of irresistible impetus and overflowing life that was the essential gift of Rubens. Here it is that he surpasses all other painters and reigns supreme. From this we may judge that it was only after long striving and many still-born efforts that this unique talent attained to full expression. During many years the life and movement, at times successfully rendered in the early sketch, was frozen up again during the more laborious processes involved in the carrying out of the finished picture.

It was in certain battle and hunting scenes that Rubens had early occasion to prove his mettle as a painter of violent action. In this series we notice again and again the superiority of the first sketch to the finished work.

It is in two pictures painted, it would seem, soon after the completion of the 'Elevation' triptych, that Rubens first tackled the difficult problem. The 'DEFEAT OF SENNACHERIB,' now in the Pinakothek, stands quite apart from the other Biblical subjects of the time. It is a scene of wild confusion; from the sky above angels of wrath urge on the panic and confusion that reigns below. In the shock of cavalry in the centre we have the first conception of a group that we shall come upon again in more than one of Rubens's hunting scenes. But amid all this sound and fury there is an air of unreality, and this is increased by the artificial scheme of illumination.

The 'CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL' in the same gallery may be regarded as a companion picture. There is here in the centre a similar group of prancing horses and struggling figures. A few years later Rubens painted a larger version of the same subject; in this work the hand of

the young Vandyke can be traced in the rearing horses that take so important a place in the composition. This picture was long at Leigh Court; after the Miles sale in 1884, it passed to a Paris dealer, and finally has found a home in the Berlin Gallery. But in none of these elaborate compositions, any more than in the early hunting scenes, can we find any trace of that marvellous power of rendering rapid motion that gives life to later works of the same class.

It is indeed an easy passage from such pictures as these to the hunting-pieces that were turned out from the studio between 1615 and 1620. The earliest of these of which we have any record is the work with the curious title, 'EUROPEANS HUNTING WOLVES AND FOXES'—a huge picture measuring 12 feet by 18, that Rubens in 1617 offered to Sir Dudley Carleton. After some negotiations the English diplomatist contented himself with a reduced version; the larger one Rubens finally sold to the Duke of Aerschot. This picture has disappeared, but there are in England two smaller versions of the subject, one lately belonging to Lord Ashburton, the other to Lord Methuen at Corsham Court, and the first of these M. Rooses identifies with the Carleton picture. These works are best known by the engraving of Soutman.

Rubens painted about this time as many as five large 'LION HUNTS.' The most famous of these is the one executed for the Duke of Bavaria, now in the Pinakothek. Here we have a vigorous *mêlée* of horsemen, with rearing steeds and bounding lions; the picture is closely allied in conception to the 'Conversion of St. Paul' in the Berlin Gallery—the turbaned figures and the dappled horses are painted from studies that had already served for earlier pictures of the same class. Rubens's hunting scenes—as I have said, hardly convincing as renderings of vigorous action—are carefully composed, and they abound in fine passages of paint from the master's hand. In the 'Lion Hunt' the conception is dominated by the white band formed by the rearing horse and the body of the falling Arab. The death-stricken face of this latter figure should be noted—Rubens has devoted to it more than usual pains. At Dresden, at Richmond and in the Palazzo Corsini at Rome are other versions—the latter perhaps an early work, and the first idea of the Munich picture—and in these it may be noted that tigers also are introduced.

Of quite a different character are the BOAR HUNTS, of which there are examples at Dresden and at Marseilles. The Dresden picture (in the same gallery are also two spirited sketches of the same subject) is

essentially a landscape; it is a forest scene, where, amid the masses of fallen timber, the headlong rush of the boar is received upon the spears of the footmen, while at the same moment the mounted huntsmen and the struggling hounds fling themselves from all sides upon the quarry. There is a vigorous replica of the Dresden 'Boar Hunt' at Glasgow that came from the Adrian Hope collection. The picture at Marseilles differs in composition; it is an enlargement of the central group; the mounted figures to the right—a lady and a cavalier—have already taken their place in the earlier Ashburton 'Wolf Hunt.'

In other cases it is the Calydonian boar that is hunted by 'MELEAGER AND ATALANTA.' In the large and ambitious picture in Vienna, Atalanta to the left has just let fly her arrow—a fine figure, doubtless by Rubens. The halting action of the carefully drawn dogs and game suggests the hand of Paul de Vos or Wildens. Compare with this the life and swing in the fine sketch of the same subject that has passed from the Calonne and Radstock Collections to Sir Frederick Cook's Gallery at Richmond. Other versions of this composition have been noticed in English collections (Earl of Milltown, Walpole, etc.), but I cannot trace their present whereabouts.

The 'Calydonian Boar' has taken us back to mythological scenes. Where the quarry is the stag, we come again upon Diana and her nymphs. But these stag hunts—that at Berlin, for instance, and the Ashburton picture (now in the market)—are mostly late works, and none of them of great importance.

In the case of the hunting scenes generally, it is, as I have hinted, the sketch that interests us most. Here we have the original conception as it came from the master's brain; the sweeping lines convey the fling and impetus of the onrushing *meute*. Our English collections are fortunately rich in oil-sketches of this kind, generally thinly painted on panel with slight indications of colour.

But Rubens was not content with the sport offered by his own country. Lion hunts we have already noticed, but about this time (1615-20) his interest was excited by the monsters of the tropical flood and jungle. The industry of the Belgian archivists has unearthed the fact that as early as 1613 Rubens purchased books on natural history —for example, Aldrovandus's great work, and some German compilations on the subject. At this time, too, he may have witnessed the arrival at Antwerp of more than one shipload of rare animals brought from the Indies or from tropical Africa to supply the princely menageries then coming into vogue.

But these exotic beasts have found their way not only into hunting scenes; in the 'NEPTUNE AND AMPHITRITE,' the picture from the Schoenborn collection, bought in 1881 by the Berlin Gallery for such a large sum, we have quite a compendium of tropical natural history. In this timidly executed and cold work (painted about 1616-17, according to M. Rooses, but perhaps a little earlier) the nymph, so familiar to us in the 'Erichthonius,' in the 'Toilet of Venus,' and even in the early 'Hero Crowned,' occurs again. On either side of the central figures we see a lion, a tiger and a hippopotamus. To the right a sea-nymph sports with what is probably meant for a crocodile, and on the other side a solemn-looking rhinoceros receives a douche from a huge nautilus shell that another nymph empties over its head. By the shore lie carefully painted tropical shells. The execution of these strange animals has, I should say, been attributed to Wildens, the Jack-of-all-trades, who is always called in when no other name will well fit.

Another picture of the same class, but of somewhat later date, is the so-called 'FOUR QUARTERS OF THE GLOBE' (otherwise known as the 'Four Rivers'), now in Vienna. M. Rooses praises the rich glow of colour in this picture, but it struck me as a cold academic work, awkward in composition, and where the master's hand is only to be recognised in a few passages. The Nile is to be identified by the crocodile that lies in front of him; the Ganges by the snarling tigress suckling her young. This latter group may well be the work of Rubens. There is indeed in the Academy at Vienna a clever study of a very similar tigress and cubs, painted, it would seem, from nature, and doubtless by the master.

The 'ALLIANCE OF EARTH AND WATER' ('Neptune and Cybele') in the Hermitage, is a closely allied picture. Here too a tiger is to be discovered, and, as in the 'Amphitrite,' sea-shells, carefully painted.

The 'CROCODILE AND HIPPOPOTAMUS HUNT' of the Augsburg Gallery is yet another picture of the same class, but we are here taken back to the hunting scenes from which we have lately digressed. This picture, again, is highly lauded by M. Rooses. 'Effrayant de mouvement' he calls it, 'superb in its unity and admirable balance, it greatly surpasses the master's wild-boar hunts.' To me it seems an artificially composed picture of smooth and monotonous handling, in which the part of Rubens cannot have been large. Like so many other of these scenes where wild animals are introduced, it has been well engraved by Soutman.

With these pictures too we may class the 'DANIEL IN THE LION'S DEN,' a work that has long been popular with us in England. As 'Daniel in the midst of many lions, painted from nature entirely by my hand,' we find it in the list of the pictures offered by Rubens to Sir Dudley Carleton, and it is there priced at 600 florins. Carleton presented the picture to Charles I., and later it passed to the Duke of Hamilton. At the sale of the Hamilton collection in 1882, the 'Daniel' fetched over five thousand pounds. A few years later the Duke was able to buy it back for a much smaller figure. This picture is essentially a study of lions in various positions. Daniel is there, but the beasts pay no attention to him. Rubens at this time made many studies from life of lions, mostly in black chalk. There is one—in this case a lioness—in the National Gallery (Peel collection), and several others in the Albertina. More important is the large oil study of a young lion belonging to Lord Normanton.

Before passing on to the landscapes painted during the early and middle period, I will mention what is perhaps the only important still-life piece entirely by the hand of Rubens. This is the 'PHILOPOEMEN' of the Louvre, which is essentially a magnificently executed study of game and vegetables—the hunted patriot plays but a secondary part. But this brilliant little picture is, after all, only a sketch for a large work (now lost) formerly in the Orleans Gallery.

Of the landscapes painted by Rubens, the greatest number and the most interesting belong to the last years of his life. I have already spoken of the early 'Landscape with a Rainbow,' and of the many later versions of the same subject. There are in our Royal collections two landscapes of which it is very difficult to fix the date; in both of them Van Uden or another has probably played a more important part than Rubens.

'THE DAIRY FARM AT LAEKEN' (Buckingham Palace) was bought by George IV. from the Lunden family. It was no doubt one of the seventeen landscapes in the artist's house at his death. By Rubens are the market-women, the barrow with vegetables, and perhaps the passage with horses watering in the middle distance.

The 'SUMMER,' at Windsor, may probably be identified with the 'large landscape full of figures, horses, and carts,' that was among the pictures of the Duke of Buckingham that were sent to Antwerp for sale after his death. Along with it was the 'WINTER, WITH NINE FIGURES,'

which has also found a home at Windsor. This is a snow-scene, with gypsies sitting round a fire in a stable or out-house. Rubens painted only one other work of this character—the 'PRODIGAL SON,' a picture formerly at Narford Hall. At the Fountaine sale in 1894, only 800 guineas was obtained for this work, but it was afterwards bought for the Antwerp Gallery at the advanced price of 45,000 francs. This is a careful study from nature of a half-open stable and cowshed, with horses, cattle, and pigs. In contrast to the 'Winter,' the 'Prodigal Son' is all by the master's hand. It is thinly painted in a warm brown undertone, with a little colour worked in here and there.

I shall have something more to say of these earlier landscapes when, in a later chapter, I come to speak more generally of Rubens as a landscape painter.

Rubens, as we have seen, soon after his return to Antwerp, threw off most of the mannerisms that he had picked up in Italy. Somewhat later, about 1614, he amused himself at times by painting in the manner of other artists—we can hardly say that he fell under their influence. Of the painters thus honoured, the most important are the Frankforter, Adam Elsheimer (whom he had probably met in Rome) and his older contemporary and close friend, Jan Breughel. These two artists had this in common, that they both painted little pictures with a high finish and great attention to detail. Rubens, we know, admired Elsheimer's work, and bought his pictures. In his 'FLIGHT INTO EGYPT,' a picture dated 1614, now at Cassel, he distinctly imitated his manner. The contrast of the artificial, or rather miraculous illumination, with the diffused moonlight, is a favourite theme with the German artist, who indeed painted this very subject more than once. In the 'SHIPWRECK OF AENEAS,' to be noticed later, we have again an example of the influence of Elsheimer upon the landscape of Rubens. There are other pictures where we may trace at least the composition of the Frankforter—for example, the 'PHILEMON AND BAUCIS' of the Vienna Gallery,[1] where the grouping of the figures is almost identical with that in the exquisite little Elsheimer at Dresden. The later pictures of Elsheimer Rubens would have known from the etchings by Goudt after that master.[2]

[1] Classed, however, in the catalogue as a schoolpiece. The warm colouring calls to mind the work of Jordaens.

[2] Rubens, writing to Vaenius in 1622, mentions a method of etching on a plate covered with a white ground—the effect, he says, was like red chalk on white paper—that he had learnt from Elsheimer when in Rome. I may here mention that of the rare etchings attributed to Rubens

HORSES AND MEN IN A STABLE (STUDY FOR "THE PRODIGAL SON")

UNIVERSITY GALLERIES, OXFORD

There is another little picture, again dated 1614, where Rubens has adopted a miniature-like finish. This is the 'PIETÀ,' with the weeping women, at Vienna (signed and dated 'P. P. Rubens F. 1614'). There is another version of this carefully composed group at Antwerp. In this beautiful picture, painted with a broader brush than the last, the figures are set in a rocky landscape.

Not less interesting is it to find Rubens imitating the style of the Flemish and German painters of the early sixteenth century, and even copying their works. There were two pictures of this class at Blenheim. 1. The 'PARACELSUS,' only brought £125 at the Marlborough sale. This panel has since been acquired for the Brussels Museum at a much higher price. It is a free copy from a German or Flemish picture of the early sixteenth century, of which there is a version in the museum at Nancy.[1] 2. More sympathetic is the 'HEAD OF A YOUNG MAN,' now in the Pinakothek. Here we have a copy (if we can call any work of Rubens a copy) of a portrait by Joost van Cleef, now in the Berlin Gallery. Again in the catalogue of the Buckingham pictures sold at Antwerp in 1649 (see p. 47), No. 10 is entitled 'The Duchess of Brabant and her Lover,' and this has been identified with the curious panel now in Vienna, where Rubens has posed two figures in the costume of the early fifteenth century. According to the inscription upon Van den Steen's engraving of this work, the true title should run: 'ST. PEPIN, FIRST DUKE OF BRABANT, AND ST. BEGA.' It is there said to be 'after an old picture.' The work is essentially Flemish, in the style of Quentin Massys. It is a carefully painted little panel, all by Rubens's hand. It may be noted that in a few of Rubens's large pictures, as in the 'Conversion of St. Bavon', there is an attempt at obtaining 'local colour' by the partial introduction of mediaeval costumes.

When Rubens worked in collaboration with Jan Breughel, he adopted a highly-finished, at times almost miniature-like, treatment. The two artists seem to have thus combined their forces at intervals between 1612 and 1620. In the 'ADAM AND EVE' of the Hague, the graceful figures are little more than *staffage* in the landscape of the older painter. So of the little heads of the Virgin encircled by the

only one is universally accepted—a vigorously executed figure of St. Catherine. In the British Museum is an etching of the bust of the Pseudo-Seneca (a unique example), which is probably by Rubens.

[1] This picture may be recognised in Van Haecht's painting of Cornelis van der Geest's Gallery (O.M. 1907). It is not unlikely that this wealthy patron of Rubens may have directed his attention to the old Flemish painters. Cf. p. 99.

elaborate wreaths of Breughel—these are in some cases essentially flower-pieces. The most famous of these combined works is perhaps the 'GARLANDED MADONNA' at Munich. Here the colour scheme of Rubens's Virgin is quite spoiled by the gay flowers, which seem, however, to have been painted before both the central panel and the surrounding angels. A similar picture from the Schoenborn collection is now in the New York Museum. Another combined work of this class in the Louvre was painted originally for the Cardinal Federigo Borromeo. When Breughel sent off this panel to his patron, he speaks of it as his finest work, and he states that the birds and other small animals lurking among the flowers are painted from life after those in the possession of the Infanta Isabella. He then mentions quite incidentally that 'M. Rubens has given a proof of his talent in the central medallion.'

In the case of the first of these 'Garlanded Madonnas,' the flowers are surrounded by a ring of winged boy-angels. But in the 'MADONNA WITH THE HOLY INNOCENTS,' also in the Louvre, the central figures are encircled and supported by a closely packed throng of wingless *putti*, who fill up the whole of the background. This is a somewhat earlier work, belonging to a time when Rubens was occupied with the problem of the play of light upon complicated masses of flesh; the dexterous handling of the brush in the rapidly-sketched contours, and in the reliefs of these little plump dimpled bodies is nowhere better seen than here. Notice, above all, the markings of red paint by which the hollows of the flesh are subtly indicated.

There are some other pictures for which Breughel provided the flowers. He painted an elaborate wreath for the curious allegory now at Glasgow, where three nymphs are apparently robing a statue of the many-breasted Ephesian Diana. 'NATURE ADORNED BY THE GRACES' is no doubt the subject of this strange picture. The basket of flowers that the 'THREE GRACES' raise above their heads in the pictures at Vienna and Stockholm, may also be attributed to Breughel. To him, too, we may give the flowers and the landscape in the 'NYMPHS PLUCKING FRUIT' at the Hague, but in this case the attribution to Rubens of the figures seems to me somewhat doubtful.

Of the HOLY FAMILIES and MADONNAS of this time I must content myself with a brief mention. That in the Gallery of Hertford House is worthy of a better place than it now occupies. The picture is remarkable for the exquisite flesh-painting of the two boys. The 'HOLY FAMILY WITH THE LAMB' that the great Duke took from the

palace of Tervueren is perhaps the work of a pupil. Another Madonna from the Blenheim Gallery passed to a French collection. This picture is identical in composition with one of the wings of the famous 'Christ à la Paille.' The 'HOLY FAMILY' of the Pitti is a charming, if somewhat awkwardly arranged group. If the robust boy lying in the homely cradle is to be identified with the young Nicolas, this would fix the date to about 1619. The 'HOLY FAMILY WITH A BASKET' at Sanssouci[1] is probably somewhat earlier. This slightly painted picture is remarkable for the graceful if somewhat mannered pose of the Virgin, and for the happy rendering of the infant Christ. A replica, or perhaps rather a contemporary copy, of this picture has lately been presented to the gallery at Vienna by the Emperor of Austria.

In 1620 Rubens's elder son was six years old, his second a sturdy baby of two; the two boys find their places in numerous pictures—at this time they must almost have lived in the studio. As early as 1618, when he painted the beautiful 'CHILDREN WITH GARLANDS,' now in the Pinakothek, perhaps the most popular of all Rubens's pictures of children, the young Albert was pressed into service. The boys in this case much resemble the little winged angels of the 'Garlanded Madonna' of the same gallery, but their burden of fruit and flowers is here rather the work of Snyders than of Breughel. To the same class belongs the picture at Vienna, where we see the 'INFANT CHRIST AND ST. JOHN' with two boy angels, playing with a lamb—a damaged and in part repainted panel, of which there exist numberless replicas or copies, in some of which the angels are missing. (Berlin, Kingston Lacy, and especially the well-preserved picture at Wilton.)

In 1615 (the date we have on the authority of his nephew Philip) Rubens painted for his friend Cornelis van der Geest a small picture that ranks amongst his greatest works: this is the 'BATTLE OF THE AMAZONS,' one of the glories of the Munich Gallery. It was at the instigation of the same patron that the great 'Elevation of the Cross' had been carried out some years previously. In spite of the distinct statement of Rubens's nephew, M. Rooses will have it that the Amazon picture also belongs to the earlier time. As an unsurpassed rendering

[1] In the Picture Gallery along with some twenty other works that have at least come from the great *atelier*. The Holy Family in question, like so many other of the Potsdam pictures—and this applies not only to the works of our master—shows signs of vigorous and drastic cleaning following on a long period of neglect.

of headlong impetus it has indeed some relation to the powerful sketch of the 'Elevation' in the Louvre. The drawing of the horses calls to mind the 'Sennacherib' and the 'Lion Hunts.' But the 'Battle of the Amazons' has merits that none of these pictures possess. It is not only in the quality of paint, in itself so delightful, that Rubens has here given proof of his genius, but he has in this picture, perhaps for the first time, come forward as the successful portrayer of irresistible onrush and rapid motion. The engraving in six parts that Vorsterman made of this work in 1623, is remarkable as the biggest print ever executed from a picture of Rubens; it is dedicated to the Countess of Arundel. Bellori states that this engraving was made from a drawing of the picture by Vandyke, touched in parts by Rubens. The general composition of the 'Amazons' is repeated in a later oil-sketch, powerfully painted with full palette, now at Hertford House. This is the 'DEFEAT OF MAXENTIUS,' one of the 'Constantine' series that Rubens executed about 1626.

I have so far said nothing of a group of pictures that comprises some of the most superlative as well as some of the most uninspired of the works of Rubens. I refer to what may be called the APOCALYPTIC SERIES, that was in the main executed between the years 1615 and 1619. Here I may mention that the identification of the subject of these pictures presents some difficulty. Rubens does seem to have clearly differentiated in his mind two very different events—the Fall of the Rebel Angels and the scenes connected with the Last Judgment. After all, what was required was an occasion for rendering a vision that, as far as I know, was peculiar to the artist—a stream or cascade of naked bodies; in other cases we may better liken the effect to an ascending column of vapour. The subject indeed had been long a favourite one. What may be called the anatomical or Michelangelesque treatment had been carried on in Italy by Vasari and Bronzino, and in Flanders by Frans Floris. But with Rubens the aim, or rather the first vision, was of quite another kind; in the carrying out, however, the artist was led aside to the anatomical development of individual figures, and in doing this the original conception was lost. There are some who are unimpressed by those marvellous cascades of naked flesh—they have even been compared to strings of sausages.[1]

[1] Raw sausages, I suppose, but in even a raw sausage a great artist may find suggestions for artistic treatment.

The greatest difference of opinion prevails as to the time when this idea first entered the brain of Rubens. On the ground partly of an early picture in the Durazzo collection at Genoa, M. Rooses, who confesses that he only knows the work from what is but a poor modern engraving, throws back the date of the first conception to the Italian period. But this Genoese picture, even if by Rubens, we may, I think, put aside as having little relation to the group in question.

There are in the museum at Aix-la-Chapelle (Suermondt Collection) and in the Pinakothek at Munich two small panels, the one known as the 'FALL OF THE DAMNED' and the other as the 'ASSUMPTION OF THE RIGHTEOUS.' That these are companion pictures there can be no doubt; they are of the same size, and hasty sketches for figures in both may be found on either side of the same sheet of paper (in the British Museum). I cannot discuss the grounds—very unconvincing they seem to me—that have led to the placing of both these little unfinished panels in the Italian period (*i.e.* before 1609). A mere glance at a photograph, I should have thought, is enough to show that the 'Assumption' at least is no work of a novice.[1]

In fact, both these sketches or unfinished pictures must in all probability be associated—at least in their original condition, for one at least has been much painted on since—with the great 'machines' that Rubens painted beween 1615 and 1618 for the new Jesuit church at Neuburg, as well as for other churches of the Order. As for the 'FALL OF THE DAMNED' at Aix-la-Chapelle, this is distinctly the first idea for the big panel now in the Pinakothek that goes under that name. This Munich panel we may perhaps regard as the typical picture of the series. Rubens took infinite pains in the working out of the detail for this elaborate composition; witness the careful studies of individual figures and groups of figures, of which four have passed from the Peel Collection to the National Gallery, two others are in the British Museum, and a seventh in the Albertina. In this case the fire of the original version is in some measure preserved, although the unity of the composition has been lost. Only a fragment of

[1] I notice that in the last edition of the Munich Catalogue the 'Assumption' is relegated to a place among the 'Studio pieces.' It is suggested that it may be identified with a sketch or unfinished picture bought by Wildens at the sale of Rubens's effects—'The Assumption of the Blessed Souls'—of which it is recorded that only a few figures were painted in the middle, and that the owner had it *finished* by a certain Jan Boeckhorst. But the panel in the Munich Gallery is obviously *not finished*. Still less can the Munich panel be identified with a sketch that Rubens is recorded to have made for a picture that he proposed to paint for the Duke of Buckingham. This would place it much too late. I confess myself quite unable to understand the argument of M. Rooses in respect to these two panels. (*Vie de Rubens*, p. 195 *seq.*)

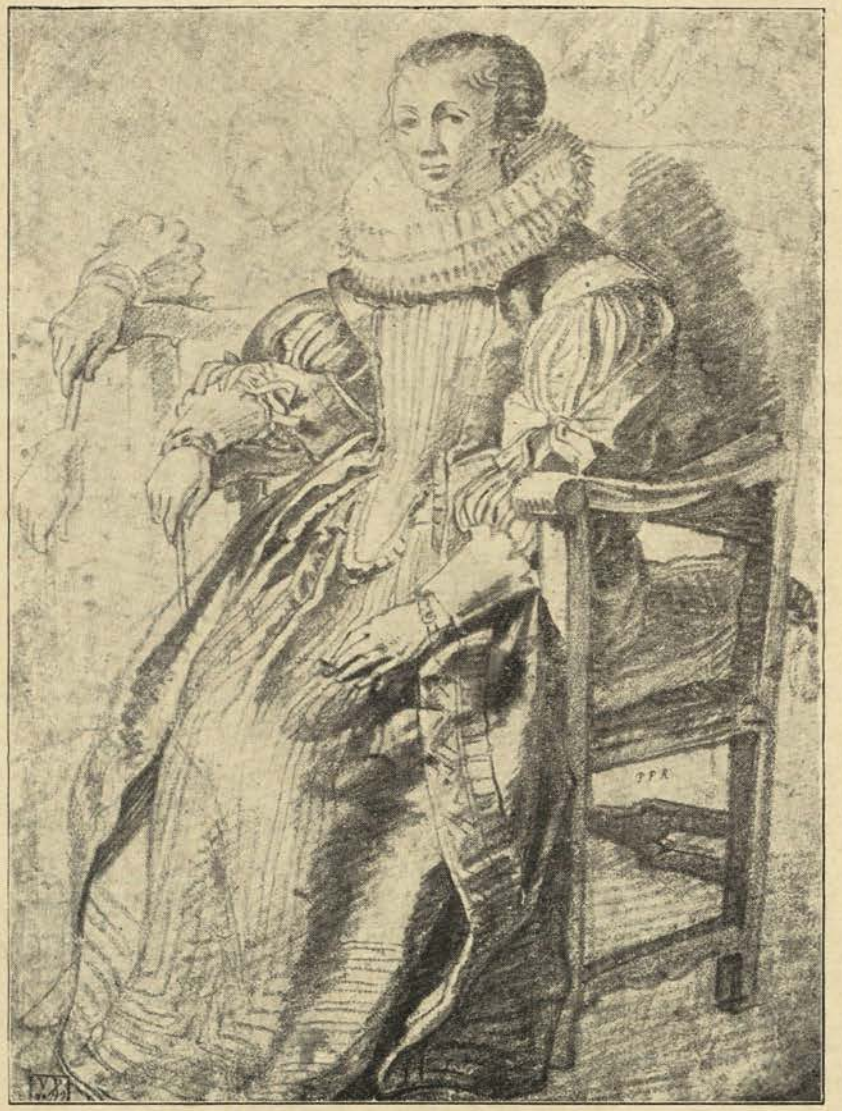
this picture has been engraved (by Soutman), otherwise we might have thought that Milton had found in the wild avalanche of headlong falling bodies, the suggestion for a famous passage in the first book of *Paradise Lost*.

The 'LITTLE LAST JUDGMENT' is in its present form an upright panel about six feet by four. As in the last work, Michael is here seen hurling down what may be either fallen angels or the bodies of the damned. It was originally an oblong picture, and in this form was, in 1642, engraved by Suyderhoef—Milton may have seen the engraving. At some later time Rubens added a semicircular segment at the top, where Christ is seated in judgment. In its original form this must have been a striking composition. Even now, in spite of the want of cohesion between the two parts, it is without doubt the most satisfactory of the Apocalyptic Series.

On the 'GREAT LAST JUDGMENT' and on the 'FALL OF THE REBEL ANGELS' that Rubens executed in 1618 and 1619 for the Jesuit church at Neuburg, I need not dwell. The spirit of the original conception has here completely evaporated. These huge 'machines,' painted for the most part by pupils, are now in the Pinakothek. They play their part in the decoration of that astounding room, where Rubens rules supreme; but the judicious visitor gives them a passing glance and turns to matters at hand of quite another calibre. Even more empty is the 'APOCALYPTIC WOMAN' in the same gallery, but this picture is of some interest, as it is probably the earliest example of the series. It was painted perhaps as early as 1611 for a church at Freising, and a view of that Bavarian town occupies the lower part of the canvas. Finally, as regards the smaller sketchy version of the 'LAST JUDGMENT' at Dresden, Dr. Bode is probably right in classing it as a later school-piece.

I have done my best to present, in logical connection, this most complicated group of pictures. It will be noted that only of the canvases painted for the Duke of Neuburg is the date definitely known.[1] I should personally be inclined to place the Munich 'Fall of the Damned,' as well as the 'Little Last Judgment,' at a later date than these, and to connect them rather with the time when Rubens was working for the Duke of Buckingham; but apart from 'stylistic' grounds the evidence in favour of this arrangement is, I confess, very slight.

[1] It is perhaps worthy of note that here at Neuburg at the very time when these huge altar-pieces were delivered at the little Bavarian town (lately handed over to the Jesuits on the conversion of the Duke), the young Descartes, seated by the stove in his room, was dreaming of the discovery of a new and wonderful science.



PORTRAIT STUDY

(FROM A DRAWING IN THE KGL. KUPFERSTICHKABINETT, BERLIN)

CHAPTER XI

The First Twelve Years at Antwerp (*continued*)—Portraits—Pictures for the Jesuit Church—Decius Mus Series—The Earlier 'Assumptions' and 'Adorations'—The 'March of Silenus.'

WHAT rank are we to give to Rubens as a portrait painter? I know of some competent judges who would be prepared to grant him the very highest place. On the other hand, Fromentin denies to Rubens the smallest merit in this department. 'His portraits,' he declares, 'are weak, the result of little observation, superficially built up and based on the vaguest likeness.' When compared to the great masters of portraiture, and even to men of the second rank, 'we see,' says the French critic, 'that Rubens was wanting in that *naïvéte*, in that concentration of mind, humble and yet strong, that is required of the artist before he can attain perfection in the rendering of the human face.' In other words, Rubens took little interest in the observation of individual character. He prided himself rather upon his power of generalisation. We must not, then, in his portraits look for any interpretation of the inner man, for the rendering of anything more than what presents itself to the ordinary observer 'in the light of common day.' This rendering, however, is, as far as it goes, so perfect, attained by such simple and straightforward means, and the result is in not a few cases such a healthy, enjoyable piece of downright painting that we forget to ask for anything more. But, with a few notable exceptions, Rubens's faces do not haunt you like those of Rembrandt, nor do they inspire complete confidence as counterfeits of the very man as do those of Holbein, or even of Antony More at his best. They are wanting, again, in the distinction, somewhat artificial, perhaps, of Vandyke. It must be remembered, however, that Rubens entered into the inheritance of an accomplished school of portrait painters, and that with one of the later members of that school, the younger Frans Pourbus, he was closely associated during his Italian period. The portraits of this painter, I may add, are sometimes not easily to be distinguished from the earlier ones of Rubens.

These earlier portraits of Rubens need not detain us long. I have

already spoken of those of Isabella Brant and of the Rockox family—the latter on the wings of the St. Thomas triptych.

Of the many likenesses of the 'ARCHDUKES' that Rubens painted during the lifetime of Albert, perhaps no example that is distinctly by his hand has come down to us; the best known is the pair of about 1617, now in the Prado. The portrait of PIETER PECK or PECQUIUS, Chancellor of Brabant, a diplomatist with whom Rubens had at one time intimate relations, is a forcible work conveying the impression of a man of strong character (collection of Prince Anton von Arenberg). The DOCTOR VAN THULDEN, now in the Pinakothek, was painted probably about 1620. The Louvain professor is seated, in black academic robes, and the artist has caught the momentary expression, not a very pleasant one, with which he looks round, quietly and decidedly, as if to clench some point of canon law. It is a model well worthy of study by the modern painter of a presentation portrait. At Paris, in the house of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, there are two good portraits of this time—PETER VAN HECKE and his wife, CLARA FOURMENT. Clara was the eldest of the sisters of Helen Fourment, the artist's second wife, born twenty years before her. This is the first time that we come across a member of this subsequently much painted family. The portly, bourgeois figure of Peter, in black doublet, relieved against a red curtain, is solidly painted with a fat brush, with warm lights and deep shadows. In the Cook collection at Richmond is a portrait of a young gentleman in black, in expression unusually refined and courteous, which belongs to this time; but I cannot see in the face any resemblance to the artist's brother Philip.

But of all the portraits that Rubens painted at this time, none have gained him greater praise than the pair that now hang in the gallery at Brussels. CHARLES DE CORDES was married in 1617 to JACQUELINE VAN CAESTRE; the young wife died the next year. These facts fix the date of the pictures. Nowhere is the consummate skill in execution attained at this time by Rubens better seen than in these portraits. In spite of an appearance of finish, we have here the rapid work of a full brush.[1] In the case of Jacqueline there is something in the rendering for which a claim of spiritual insight has been made—an admonition of approaching death has been found in the face. Rubens had a handsome model, and he has well rendered the sad and rather peevish ex-

[1] M. Rooses speaks of an '*exécution extrêmement soignée*,' but this is surely to damn these admirable pieces of painting with a kind of praise which is not called for in this case. It is interesting to compare the widely contrasted appreciation of these portraits by two such critics as Fromentin and the late R. A. M. Stevenson.

pression of the beautiful face before him; he has rejoiced in the skill with which, with a slight touch of vermilion here and there, he has brought out the value of the sober tones of the hair and complexion. But is there anything more in this face than what Fromentin calls 'epidermis painting,' resulting in what is '*expéditive, brillante, une ressemblance aimable, une œuvre éphémère*'?

Rubens, indeed, when at work on a portrait was, we may well imagine, thinking about the great canvases he had on hand at the time, perhaps turning over in his mind the place that could be found for the head he was painting in one of his compositions. A man content himself with the external aspect of the world around him, he was at no pains to search out the inner psychology of the men and women who sat for him. This is perhaps the reason that the studies that Rubens made of a NEGRO'S HEAD (Brussels Gallery), quite apart from the marvellous modelling with the brush and the rendering of the epidermis, are so eminently satisfactory. We feel that the *ethos* of the merry, chattering 'nigger,' whose life is all on the surface, has been rendered with radical truth—there is nothing more to say.

But Rubens at times struck a deeper note, never more so than in the 'LAST COMMUNION OF ST. FRANCIS,' that he painted in 1619 for the Récollet Church at Antwerp. Nowhere, perhaps, has a certain phase of religious sentiment, which it would be out of place to analyse here, been more admirably recorded; and never, perhaps, has the rendering of a pathetic and tragic scene been more sympathetically co-ordinated with a masterly arrangement of chiaroscuro and a restrained but delightful scheme of colour. But read the eloquent lines in the *Maîtres d'Autrefois*, where Fromentin recalls his impressions of this noble picture, and compare what he says with the passage in which Reynolds declares this strange, haunting figure of St. Francis to be so 'disgustful' as to counterbalance whatever other merit the picture may have. The figure, he says, is without dignity, and appears more like a lazar than a saint. Sir Joshua here speaks less as an artist than as a healthy English gentleman of the eighteenth century, little in sympathy with such a phase of piety.

Only a year later, in 1620, Rubens painted for the high altar of the same Franciscan church—this time at the charge of his friend, the Burgomaster Rockox—another equally famous picture. This is the large 'Crucifixion,' better known as the 'COUP DE LANCE,' that now, like the 'Last Communion,' hangs in the Antwerp Gallery. Here is a

picture that appeals to us mainly by certain passages of magnificent painting. In calling up this picture to my mind, what presents itself first is the ray of brilliant sunlight—the first, doubtless, after the darkness of the eclipse—that illumines the golden robes of the Magdalene and gilds the horse's head above. Here for once the tints of primary yellow get the upper hand of the inevitable vermilion (this, indeed, appears on the robes of the virgin and of the soldier holding the spear). But perhaps, among other causes, it is as a consequence of this subordination of the red keynote that the picture as a whole lacks unity—it is a concatenation of beautiful passages. Sir Joshua, I should mention, after several pages of praise of this work, declares 'that it is certainly one of the first pictures of the world for colouring, and, what was not to be expected from Rubens, correctness of drawing.'[1]

The rather melodramatic 'CHRIST À LA PAILLE,' the central panel of a triptych that formerly stood over the tomb of Jan Michielsen (*d.* 1617) in the Antwerp Cathedral, has attained to some fame from the very realistic painting of the head of Christ and the skilful way in which the collapse of the corpse is rendered. In this picture, painted thinly with a wet brush, Rubens carries certain mannerisms that distinguish his flesh-painting at this time to excess—I mean in the use of ultramarine in the half-tones and of vermilion in the reflections. The 'Christ à la Paille' may be compared with the TRINITY that Rubens painted several years later for the Grands Carmes—both pictures are in the Antwerp Gallery. This is essentially an elaborate study in foreshortening; the hastily painted Almighty and the weeping angels are quite subsidiary to the dead body of Christ.

We do not know at what date Vandyke entered the studio of Rubens, but we are able to group together quite a number of pictures in which the hand of the most brilliant of his pupils (if pupil he ever was) may be more or less distinctly traced. In 1609, when he was barely ten years old, Vandyke was entered in the books of the Guild of St. Luke as a pupil of the elder Van Balen. Nine years later, in 1618, he was received as master. When working under Rubens he must have passed rapidly through the grades of pupil and assistant; already by 1618 he is probably to be reckoned as a collaborator. Early in 1621 Vandyke entered the service of James I.; at that time he only remained about eight months with us, but his return to Antwerp was followed very shortly by his departure for Italy. It was during the

[1] The chalk 'study' for the *Coup de Lance* in the National Gallery I should rather regard as a drawing made for the engraver by some clever pupil, perhaps by the young Vandyke.

years 1618, 1619, and 1620 that he took an important part in the work turned out from the studio of Rubens. Vandyke's manner at this time was something very different from what we usually associate with his name—his execution is coarse and hasty, with heavy black shadows. We have a good sample of his early work in the 'St. Ambrose and the Emperor Theodosius' in the National Gallery, a free copy of a large picture by Rubens now in Vienna. It is in the painting of the fiery steeds in some of the battle and hunting pieces of Rubens that Vandyke's hand may perhaps first be recognised.

Among the pictures offered to Sir Dudley Carleton was the 'ACHILLES WITH THE DAUGHTERS OF LYCOMEDES,' now in the Prado Museum. Rubens declares that the picture was 'the work of the best of his pupils, but entirely retouched by me.' It is generally understood that the reference here is to Vandyke. If so, already by 1617 Vandyke had taken a prominent place in the studio. The figure of Achilles is indeed quite characteristic of Vandyke's earliest style.

In the same correspondence with Carleton (cf. p. 40) there is question of the tapestries that the English Ambassador was to secure in part payment for his marbles. Rubens mentions that the designs for a series illustrating the history of DECIUS MUS, the Roman consul who devoted himself in battle to assure the victory of his people, were at the time in Brussels, in the hands of the tapestry weavers—the tapestry had been ordered by certain Genoese noblemen. Now at Vienna, in the Gallery of Prince Liechtenstein, is a series of six boldly executed canvases, each some 9 feet by 14 to 17, illustrating this history. Rubens was here able to display his intimacy with the details of Roman antiquarian lore. 'In the treatment of this sombre and sublime drama,' says M. Rooses, 'the artist takes an epic tone, and in no other of his works is this tone better sustained. In none is a noble action represented under more noble forms.' This is true in a measure, but at the same time we have here typical examples of the rhetorical style so favoured in the seventeenth century in the treatment of classical subjects. The 'DEDICATION' is perhaps the most beautiful of the Decius Mus series; in the simple colour-scheme the gold embroidered robes of the priest play an important part. There is something original in the composition, and the high-priest with his attendant are impressive figures. There is in Munich a powerful sketch, by Rubens's own hand, for the last of the series, the 'FUNERAL OF DECIUS,' and other sketches have from time to time turned up in private collections. It was these sketches, it would seem, that were handed over to the young

Vandyke, and from these, according to Bellori (writing in 1672), the large canvases now in the Liechtenstein Gallery were carried out. Some time after Rubens's death they became the property of Gonzales Cocques, and from him probably Bellori derived his information. To what extent Rubens may have worked upon the canvases of his clever assistant is a point that cannot now be cleared up, but the composition was entirely his. Characteristic of the work of Vandyke at this time is the dappled *genêt d'Espagne*, an old friend that turns up in three of the Decius Mus series. It is not quite certain whether we are to regard the Liechtenstein canvases as the actual designs sent to the weavers, or whether special cartoons were made for their use. It is recorded that in the eighteenth century part of another series turned up. Thus we would have—1. The original sketches of Rubens. 2. The canvases prepared from them by Vandyke, and more or less worked upon by the master. 3. The cartoons made by the pupils for the weavers.[1] 4. The tapestries themselves. Of these last several sets are in existence, in Madrid, in Prague, and more than one in Vienna.

Closely connected with the Decius Mus pictures, and like them crowded with classical arms and furniture, is the 'HERO CROWNED BY VICTORY' at Cassel, a work that in composition bears a remarkable resemblance to the early 'Hero Crowned' at Dresden (see p. 82). There is a smaller version of the same subject at Vienna, a brilliant little masterpiece, rapidly but solidly painted. The large panel was painted about 1619 for the Guild of the Archers at Antwerp. Napoleon is said to have admired this picture, and when it was carried off to Paris to have placed it over his working table in his cabinet.

Another picture of this time or a little earlier, and one in which Vandyke would seem to have had a hand, is the 'LOT LEAVING SODOM,' which was presented to the great Duke of Marlborough by the town of Antwerp. At the Blenheim sale it was bought by Mr. Butler for £1850. Lot's buxom daughter, who carries off a basket piled up with the family plate, is a figure familiar to us in works of this time; her satin robe is a fine piece of painting.

The 'RECONCILIATION OF JACOB AND ESAU,' now in the Pinakothek, is apparently the picture bought in 1628 by Philip IV., and how it passed to Munich is a mystery. This is a clever *pasticcio*; we have the

[1] I cannot point to a single example of a true cartoon by Rubens or his assistants. We are distinctly told that Jordaens made such cartoons in water-colour for the tapestry weavers; but of these, too, have any survived? In any case I do not think it well to employ the word 'cartoon' for oil designs on canvas, although in Rubens's atelier such canvases perhaps at times took their place, and my third stage was omitted. (See also notes pp. 107 and 137.)

camels of the 'Adoration' series, while the woman grasping the struggling child takes us back to one of the wings of the 'Elevation.' There is, however, a note of distinction about the half-kneeling figure of Jacob that redeems the picture from the commonplace.

In 1617 a great triptych was commissioned by the Guild of the Fishmongers of Malines for their altar in the church of Notre Dame de la Dyle. In this case a full record has been preserved of the negotiations between Rubens and the delegates of the fishmongers, and we learn how the large panels were forwarded to the artist from Malines and returned by boat to that town when finished, and how after being placed in position they received some final touches from the master's brush. The expenses, 1600 florins, were to be discharged by a town duty levied on foreign fish. In the centre we have the MIRACULOUS DRAUGHT OF FISHES, a learned composition, though the figures are rather crowded. The picture as a whole is dominated by two huge patches of vermilion, the robe of Christ to the right and the short jacket of the stalwart old fisherman to the left. The realistic treatment of this last figure, with his tall fisherman's boots, has been often noticed; the careful drawing of the fish, and more especially of the shells on the beach, connect this picture with the Berlin 'Amphitrite' and others of what I have called the 'natural history' series (see p. 117 *seq.*). St. Peter kneeling before Christ is a sympathetic figure; the others are academic studies by means of which an elaborate design is built up. Notice in the 'TOBIAS AND THE ANGEL,' on the wing to the right, the total absence of positive colour; except for the amber robe of the angel the picture is made up of greys and olive-greens. Apart from the little pictures of the *predella*, two of which are now at Nancy, the complete work still stands in its old place behind the altar in the church of Our Lady at Malines. We have in the National Gallery a beautiful 'sketch' of the 'Miraculous Draught' by Vandyke; it is in grisaille heightened by a little colour. The composition is less crowded than in the case of the Malines triptych, and indeed we are here reminded not a little of Raphael's famous cartoon.

We have seen that in the Decius Mus series it is difficult to put a limit upon the amount of work to be attributed to Vandyke. In the vast series of pictures executed at this time for the Jesuit church at Antwerp, the part played by master and pupil has been variously estimated. Although the Jesuits returned to Antwerp immediately upon the capture of the town by Farnese, they only began to build their great church in 1615, nor was it finished till 1621. The agree-

ment that was come to in March 1620 between Rubens and the director of the *maison professe* has been preserved. In it Rubens undertakes to complete before the end of the year thirty-nine pictures destined to take their place in the new church, on the ceiling of the aisles and of the gallery that ran above (the aisles, as in some of Wren's city churches, were in two stories, and divided from the nave by a double row of arcading). It was especially stipulated that the designs were in every case to be by Rubens; the canvases on the ceiling, however, might be painted by Vandyke or other pupils. For the complete series Rubens was to receive 7000 florins. The high altar of the church had been designed, in part at least, by Rubens himself, and for it he had already undertaken to paint two large altar-pieces, which were to be exposed to view in turn. These were to illustrate the MIRACLES OF ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA and of ST. FRANCIS XAVIER, the two great saints of the order. In 1718 this gorgeous building, which rivalled in magnificence the church of the Gesù at Rome, was struck by lightning, and the body of the church, along with the thirty-nine canvases on the ceilings of the aisles, was destroyed by the fire that ensued. Now Rubens had retained the sketches for this series, painting in return for them the large 'Assumption,' now in the Gallery at Vienna. Of these seventeen are now known—four are in the Louvre, six in the Academy at Vienna, five in the grand-ducal Museum at Gotha, one at Brussels, and finally one with us in the Dulwich Gallery. These boldly executed sketches are carried out on panel with thin washes of pale but bright and clear colours. They are above all remarkable for the masterly perspective of the figures, arranged so as to be seen from below. It was on this account perhaps that Rubens so prized them. Of special merit are the 'ELEVATION OF THE CROSS' and the 'CROWNING OF THE VIRGIN' in the Louvre. The decoration of the Antwerp ceilings doubtless served as a model for many later works in similar positions that have adorned the baroque churches of the Jesuits and of other orders.

For the two big miracle pictures that Rubens painted for the high altar he received 3000 florins, this time giving up the original sketches. These large altar-pieces escaped all injury in the fire, but of the sketches which appear to have been at the time in the church, one at least has suffered. Both pictures and sketches were bought by the Austrian Government in 1775, and they now hang side by side in the Imperial Museum at Vienna, offering a rare occasion for comparison and study. In the powerful sketches there is little positive colour. On a ground of pale lavender that has been scumbled over the white lining of the

INTERIOR OF THE JESUITS' CHURCH, ANTWERP

(FROM THE PICTURE BY GHERINGH IN THE HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA)

panel, the design is sketched in in subdued tones, with here and there a touch of crimson; but the great red patches of the finished canvases are here, as elsewhere in the case of sketches, absent. These huge miracle pictures are indeed dull works, totally wanting in spontaneity; the interest is concentrated on the rendering of maniacal seizure and the resuscitation of the dead; little more than the figures of the patients are by the master's hand. The miracles of St. Francis Xavier are supposed to take place in Japan, but Rubens was not concerned with any question about the 'local colour.' What is remarkable is to find in parts a return to certain types characteristic of Rubens's Italian period. Indeed in both works I see the mannered hand of some early assistant rather than that of Vandyke. Rubens painted another version of the Ignatian miracles for the Genoese banker Nicolo Pallavicini. This large picture is now in the Church of S. Ambrogio at Genoa.

Of the other large decorative pieces that Rubens painted before and after 1620 for the altars of various churches, the most important fall into two series: one concerned with the Assumption of the Virgin, the other with the Adoration of the Kings or Magi.

The ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN was painted five times by Rubens, and three of the series were executed at this time. Rubens's treatment of the subject may be regarded as a passage from the conception of Titian to that of Murillo—with these three artists above all we connect the scene. The earliest of the 'Assumptions' of Rubens was painted in 1619. It was a present from the Archduke to the church of the Barefooted Carmelites at Brussels. The picture now hangs in the gallery of that town. This is no doubt an eminently successful work, but nothing more—'brilliant and cold, uninspired as to the theme, methodical and prudent in the execution,' says Fromentin. Only the figures round the tomb can we regard as entirely by the master, the upper part has only been touched by him. It is characteristic of Rubens that here, as in so many other cases, the part of the picture that he looked upon as most important and that he reserved for himself does not include what we should regard as the principal figure. As a colour scheme the whole picture is dominated by the vermilion robe of the Apostle leaning over the empty tomb. At Buckingham Palace is a small version of this picture, probably made for the engraver.

Very inferior on the whole is the great panel, now in the Hofmuseum at Vienna, which Rubens completed a little later for his Jesuit

friends at Antwerp, to redeem, as I have already mentioned, his thirty-nine sketches. But this picture has suffered much, first in the fire at the Jesuit Church, and again when it was sawn into three segments by the Commissioner Denon before its removal from Vienna to Paris in 1809.

More decorative in conception is a third 'Assumption' that Rubens painted at this time for another church at Brussels (La Chapelle). This picture was bought in 1711 by the Bavarian Elector, and has remained ever since at Düsseldorf, the one representative of the famous Rubenses that Sir Joshua saw in that town.[1] On one occasion, when it was proposed to move this huge panel, the waggon that bore it broke down in the market-place, and the attempt was never repeated.

The two 'Assumptions' that Rubens painted at a later period (Antwerp Cathedral, 1626; and Liechtenstein Gallery, 1638) I shall treat of in a subsequent chapter.

Rubens painted the ADORATION OF THE KINGS not less than eight times.[2] Of that painted in 1610 for the town hall at Antwerp I have already spoken; of the others, four fall within our present division of time. This was a subject that must have been entirely after Rubens's heart. Here was an opportunity for the elaborate grouping of figures clad in gorgeous Oriental robes. The whole is conceived in the spirit of the spectacular arrangements—Twelfth-Night or *Presepio* scenes—so popular at the time. It is to be noted that Rubens in these pictures concentrates his attention not less upon the attendants than upon the kings or magi themselves; some of these individual figures are magnificent examples of the great artist's brush. On the other hand, the Virgin Mother and the Infant Christ hold but a secondary position, and the execution of this part is often left to an assistant.

The 'Adoration' now in the Brussels Gallery came from the Capucin church at Tournai. The scene is full of animation; the crowd on the staircase at the side is kept back by men-at-arms. The beams of the sun almost extinguish the light of the smoky torches. The king in the centre is a mass of vermilion; behind him stands the white-turbaned Caspar, and the kneeling king is robed in amber-coloured brocade.

The great triptych that Rubens painted for the church of St. Jean

[1] The others are now in Munich.

[2] Madrid, 1610; Brussels, 1618; Lyons, 1618; Malines, 1619; St. Petersburg, 1620; Antwerp, 1624; Paris, 1627; Grosvenor House, 1632. Besides these there were studies and replicas as well as other 'Adorations' that are now lost.

at Malines, was commissioned as early as 1616. As in the case of the other important works of Rubens in that city, the panels were forwarded by boat to Antwerp. The wings and the *predella* (now in part at Marseilles) were finished first; the central panel was sent off in 1619; in 1624 one of Rubens's pupils was sent to clean and varnish the whole work. In the same year Rubens gave a receipt for the final instalment of the payment. The picture still remains in its original position over the high altar. In the central panel the miraculous light that encircles the Child is contrasted with the ruddy glare from the flaming torches. As for the kings or magi, they follow closely upon the Brussels picture. The effect of rich colour is obtained, as in all of this series, by simple means. The subjects on the shutters are taken from the life and death of the two Johns—the precursor and the evangelist. What Rubens says of the work—that it is all by his own hand—can only apply to the central panel. The wings are at best gone over in parts by him.

Rubens must have had a much smaller share in the 'Adoration' now at Lyons. This picture was bought in 1698 by the Elector of Bavaria; in 1800 it was taken by the French from the Electoral Gallery at Schleissheim; having found its way to a provincial gallery, it was overlooked at the time of the Restoration.

The 'Adoration' now in the Hermitage dates from about the same time, or possibly a little later. It was bought in Holland for Catherine in 1770. Caspar, the negro king, clothed in a scarlet mantle, here occupies the central place and dominates the rest. According to M. Rooses, this is only a school-piece, slightly touched by Rubens. Two other versions of the 'Adoration' that are known to have been painted about this time have not been traced.

Rubens found much less to interest him in the 'ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS,' though he painted the subject more than once at this period. He treated it for the most part as a scene from peasant life; a stalwart milkmaid plays an important part. The well-polished milk cans of brass that she carries, or which stand beside her, are familiar to all visitors to the Low Countries—the form has not changed since Rubens's day. In the picture at Rouen the shepherdess hands an egg to the infant Christ; there are three careful studies for this figure in the Albertina. Another 'Adoration' in the church of the Madeleine at Lille is very similarly treated. A third, now at Munich, was painted for that Jesuit church at Neuburg for which, at the instigation of the newly converted Duke Wolfgang Wilhelm, Rubens executed so many

large and uninteresting works. This huge picture is a poor, dull affair, with little sign of Rubens's brush. Even in the composition it is difficult to trace the hand of the master. In the angels floating above we are strangely taken back to the mannerisms of the Italian period; the only explanation I can offer is that this part may be the work of some belated assistant, possibly of that mysterious Deodato who accompanied Rubens to Italy. The 'Adoration of the Shepherds' formed again one of the subjects on the ceiling of the Jesuit church; the powerful sketch, in exaggerated perspective, is now in the Academy at Vienna. Finally we see the milkmaid and the humble offerings of the shepherds in the little *predella* of the St. Jean triptych that has passed from Malines to Marseilles.

If among sacred subjects Rubens found the *mise en scène* that above all others satisfied him in the Magi and their Oriental retinue, so among classical compositions it was the noisy and riotous throng that accompanies the march of the aged Silenus that supplied him with a congenial motive. In the swing and *abandon* of the motley crew of satyrs, fauns, and woodland nymphs, as they rush forward, half supporting, half dragging along their old chief, he indeed met with a subject after his own heart.

We have a link between such pictures as these and the hunting scenes that have already been dealt with, in such works as 'DIANA RETURNING FROM THE CHASE,' of which there are two examples at Dresden. These two pictures have much in common, but while the one with half-length figures is (apart from the fruit and the dogs, which may be by Snyders) entirely by the master's hand, the other is little more than a 'touched' work. They are neither of them, it would seem, later than 1615 or 1616.

If we turn to the 'MARCH OF SILENUS' of the Pinakothek, or again to the great canvas of the same subject that has passed from Blenheim to the gallery at Berlin, it is still the same reckless throng; but now the restraining influence of the divine huntress is removed and the orgiastic spirit reigns supreme. The same heads appear in all these pictures. Notice especially the archly grinning nymph, a favourite type at this time—a type, however, in which I can see little resemblance to Isabella Brant. The Munich 'Silenus' was in the *succession*, and was subsequently sold by Rubens's nephew to the Duc de Richelieu. Philip Rubens, in a letter to De Piles, says that the picture was painted in 1613; it is, however, generally held to be some five years

later. The Blenheim 'Silenus,' it is stated, was given to Marlborough by the Emperor. The bounding tiger in both works is a link with the 'natural history' series of the years 1618-1620. The 'MARCH OF SILENUS' in our National Gallery was, it would seem, painted several years after this. Here the soft yielding flesh of the old drunken chief, strained like a wine-skin as he falls back into the arms of his attendants, is the centre of artistic interest. In these last three pictures the figures are entirely by the hand of the master; the animals, fruit, and flowers probably the work of Snyders.

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CHAPTER XII

The Four Main Periods—The Luxembourg Pictures—Religious Pictures of the Third Decade—Profane Subjects—Pictures painted in Madrid—In England.

IN tracing the history of Rubens's life we have found that the year 1621 forms a convenient dividing point. In the first place, it is the central year of his artistic career, and with it comes to an end the busy period during which Rubens's interest was concentrated upon the rapid outturn of panels and canvases for churches and princely galleries. During the next ten years—which saw indeed the production of many a famous work—there is a marked falling off in the number of his pictures. It was a time of political activity and of diplomatic journeys to foreign courts. The remaining decade of the great artist's life, which we associate with his second marriage and his life as a country gentleman, is again a period of restless production. I feel it indeed impossible to mark the artistic career of Rubens by any sharp dividing lines; the change of style is gradual, and there are many relapses into earlier manners. All attempts at systematic arrangement have only led, after Procrustean efforts, to the arrangement of the works of the master into obviously incongruous divisions. According as weight is given to external evidence—this often of the vaguest description—or to supposed characteristics of style, we find at times a difference of ten or even twenty years in the date attributed to a picture by writers of equal authority. At the best we may discover in the career of Rubens two dates that may be regarded as critical—as turning-points as well for his material life as for his artistic style. The first of these dates is that of the artist's return from Italy, the other that of his second marriage. Halfway between the two comes the year 1621, as I have said, an important one in the artist's life.

I would prefer, then, to divide Rubens's career as an artist into four periods of about ten years each.

1. The eclectic or Italian period, before the development of any distinct personal style (1600-1608).

2. The period of unresting production at Antwerp, including the organisation of his studio (1609-1621).

3. The period of politics and diplomatic journeys (1621-1630).

4. The period succeeding his second marriage—the time of the Helen portraits, the late landscapes and the numberless pictures hastily executed for Philip IV. (1630-1640).

These periods, it will be seen, roughly correspond to the first four decades of the seventeenth century, and are thus easily borne in mind.

I have called the third decade of Rubens's artistic life the period of diplomatic journeys. Now the most important work undertaken during this time, one that kept him occupied for the greater part of four years (1622-1625) and that involved as many as three journeys to Paris, had, as we have seen, many relations to the politics and diplomatic intrigues of the time. I refer, of course, to the great series of canvases illustrating the history of Marie de Médicis.

The Queen on her return from her exile (August 1620) occupied herself with the embellishment of the Luxembourg Palace that in the first year of her regency Salomon de Brosse had built for her on the southern heights of Paris. The two main *corps du bâtiment* of the new building were connected on either side by a lengthy gallery. In the right wing it was determined to place a series of pictures illustrating the life of the Queen, in the left a corresponding series dealing with the career of her husband, the late King; the execution, however, of the latter work was left to a future date.

The selection of the subjects was made in the first instance by the Queen herself; they were in a manner to constitute an *apologia* for her past life. This was, of course, in view of the involved relations of political parties, and of the still insecure position of Marie—it was but a few years later that she was driven out again to end her days in exile—a matter of some delicacy; many changes were indeed made during the execution of the work. No less difficult was it to find a painter who would do justice to so ambitious a scheme. There was certainly no one in France in whose hands the commission could be placed, although Simon Vouet was for a moment thought of. Indeed, it was soon evident that there was but one artist living capable of carrying through the work. This was the great Fleming, of whose talents Marie had already heard from her friend and correspondent the Archduchess Clara Eugenia.

The preliminary negotiations were left in the hands of Claude

Maugis, the Queen's treasurer, and the BARON DE VICQ, agent or minister of the Archdukes at the French court. Of the latter Rubens painted, after the completion of the great work, an admirable portrait which is now in the Louvre. The great painter arrived in Paris early in 1622, and for the sum of 20,000 crowns undertook to carry out both the series. This was indeed a task after his own heart, nor did the difficulties connected with the choice and treatment of the subjects alarm him—they were but occasions and excuses for introducing the elaborate allegories in the scheming of which he so delighted. During the first visit of six weeks Rubens probably did little beyond making some studies of the Queen's head (now in the Louvre and the Albertina), perhaps of others also who had to find their place in the pictures. What is more of interest to us is that he now made the personal acquaintance of his correspondent Peiresc, in whose hands he left most of the troublesome details connected with the size and arrangement of the canvases. In addition to the portraits of Marie and of her parents (the Grand Duke Cosmo and his wife Johanna of Austria) there were to be twenty-one large historical subjects.

During the spring and autumn of 1622 Rubens was occupied at Antwerp with a series of sketches that he made for the great work. These sketches he subsequently presented to Maugis; according to Peiresc, his hand was forced in this matter. Of these preliminary sketches the greater number may now be seen in the gallery at Munich; five are in the Hermitage, and one has found its way to the Louvre. They are of supreme interest to the student, throwing light upon Rubens's method of work at the time. Some are more finished than others, but in all the composition is already definitely fixed. What is above all noticeable in them is the absence of all positive colour; the crimson draperies of the finished pictures are represented by pale pinkish tints; some are little more than *grisailles*, carried out in greyish lavender and pink, a few notes of colour and the high lights being dashed in here and there. It has been suggested by a French critic that by thus keeping the sketches in a low key of colour, Rubens was better able to control his assistants. 'A middle scale was maintained that allowed Rubens to touch the work freely and to alter it without fear of rendering it heavy and opaque' (É. Michel, *Rubens*, vol. ii. p. 31).

Already in May 1623, Rubens was able to bring with him to Paris not only the series of sketches, but nine of the large canvases far advanced towards completion. These were placed in the gallery

MARIE DE MÉDICIS

LOUVRE, PARIS

and carefully guarded from all eyes but those of the Queen-Mother and the great Cardinal. This was only a flying visit; eighteen months more were required to complete the work. It was stipulated that all the pictures should be in place ready for inspection by the many distinguished guests that were assembled in Paris on the occasion of the marriage of the Queen's daughter, Henrietta, to the son of the English king.[1] Fortunately the date of this marriage was somewhat delayed, and Rubens had time after his arrival in Paris not only to put the final touches to his canvases, but, according to one account, to paint an entirely new picture. This was the 'Prosperity of the Regency,' that was to take the place of one of the original canvases that represented the flight of the Queen from Paris—the latter composition we only know from the sketch now at Munich; the grounds for the rejection one can readily understand. De Piles tells us that Marie, during the time that Rubens was thus occupied, spent many hours with him in the gallery, eagerly watching the artist while at work and delighted with his conversation. The Queen, we must remember, was, with all her faults, a woman of artistic temperament—that came to her with her Medici blood. She may perhaps be reckoned as an artist herself; at least she is said to have acquired the art of engraving on wood.

Of Rubens's experiences in Paris, and of the part he took in the festivities of the royal marriage, I have said something in the first part of this book (see pp. 45-46). I will here only mention in this connection a curious panel, now in the Liechtenstein Gallery, on which Rubens has sketched in an elaborate mythological scene, 'APOLLO DRIVING OUT DIANA.' This sketch is identical in composition with a fresco, in the manner of Primaticcio, which at that time covered the ceiling of a room at Fontainebleau. The work of the Italian must have appealed to the great Fleming when he visited the palace in company with Buckingham and Gerbier. Even in the moment of his triumph Rubens was open to receive fresh suggestions.

I shall not attempt to describe the Luxembourg series. The elaborate allegory that plays so important a part in the composition is of little interest to us; it was indeed difficult of interpretation even at the time. A writer of the day published a poem upon the pictures, in which he professed to provide a key to the enigma. Rubens was indignant at the presumption, and repudiated the proposed explanation. He was, however, by no means eager to elucidate the

[1] Charles was already king himself at the date of the marriage.

matter himself. The position, as I have said, was a delicate one. While flattering the *Reine Mère*, he had to avoid anything that would give offence to the young King, and there was the Cardinal in the background preparing for his final spring.

From the point of view of art, perhaps the most noticeable point about the series as a whole is the uniform standard of excellence attained. It is here less easy than in the case of other pictures of Rubens to distinguish the parts executed by the assistants from the work of the master. We are completely in the dark as to who these assistants were. There is a tradition that Justus van Egmont, then quite a young man, was with Rubens in Paris, and there is mention in his correspondence of a certain Maximilian, of whom nothing further is known; Wildens's hand may perhaps be recognised in some of the backgrounds. As in other works of the time, it is the abundant use made of masses of a bright crimson—not the unmitigated vermilion of earlier days—together with a good deal of an amber yellow in the draperies, that gives the general key to the colour-scheme. It is by contrast with these colours that the greyish tertiary blues and greens are made to do the work of pure primitive pigments. A general richness and harmony is thus maintained, without any crude contrasts of colour. In another respect these canvases are characteristic of the middle period of the artist, if not of his work generally. Nowhere is the absence of pronounced passages of shadow more striking; there is on the whole a uniform distribution of illumination.

No one of the Luxembourg series is more brilliant in effect than the 'EXCHANGE OF THE PRINCESSES,' and this is largely due to the masses of deep-toned red that encircle the central figures. Here we have the careful full-length portraits of Anne of Austria and of Elizabeth de Bourbon, and with this picture as a guide it is surprising that there should have been so much confusion in the attribution of other portraits that Rubens painted of these two princesses. The suave beauty and the elegance of the 'BIRTH OF LOUIS XIII.' has gained it many admirers—the feet of Marie have served as a model for many generations of young painters. On the whole, in this series as elsewhere, Rubens has put most of his own work into the figures in the foreground, even if these take but a subordinate place in the scene—witness the beautifully painted cupids playing with armour or riding upon lions—while when we come to the Olympian gods and goddesses, the execution is less convincingly that of the master.

The pictures were cleaned in 1775, again in 1858 (when a coat of

varnish was removed), and finally when quite lately they were removed to the room specially built for them. They are now almost as rich and brilliant in effect as when first painted. Taken as a whole, these are paintings in face of which it is impossible to work oneself up to any great pitch of enthusiasm. Rubens knew what was expected of him and gave of his talent in overflowing measure, but this was not an occasion when he could safely 'let himself go,' nor one for breaking fresh artistic ground.

There is a small group of portraits, chiefly of royal personages, that Rubens painted at this time, more or less in connection with the Medici series. Of the portraits that he painted of MARIE DE MÉDICIS, only one calls for mention. This is the literal rendering that he retained for his own use; it passed after his death to the Spanish King, and is now in the Prado. In the Louvre there is a portrait of ANNE OF AUSTRIA, of which the head is identical with that in the Luxembourg canvas of the 'Exchange of the Princesses'; for all that, this portrait long went under the name of 'Elizabeth of France.' There is another portrait of Anne in the Prado; the two pictures are in part identical and both belong to this time. What is apparently a replica of the last was formerly at Blenheim, and this, it would seem, must be the picture that Waagen entitled 'Catherine de Medici'! In all these, note the careful drawing of the beautiful hands—the hands of which the French Queen was so proud.

Rubens, we know, painted at this time two portraits of the DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM. One of these is now in the Pitti; the other may perhaps be identified with the equestrian portrait belonging to the Earl of Jersey. Lord Jersey has also an APOTHEOSIS of the Duke that was found in the artist's studio at his death. The brilliant sketch in the National Gallery, there entitled, I know not on what grounds, the 'Apotheosis of William of Orange,' would appear to be the design for the last work.

Of this group of portraits it may be said that few are of any superlative merit as works of art, and as historical records they are inferior in interest to the chalk drawings of the same great people to be found in the Louvre and the Albertina.

But the gigantic task of carrying out the Luxembourg series by no means occupied the whole of Rubens's time. The years from 1622 to 1628 witnessed the culmination of the central period of the master's artistic career. The close of this period saw the production of some of his most magnificent works. Now it is in these works—such pictures,

I mean, as the Antwerp 'Adoration,' or Lord Darnley's 'Thomyris'—that M. Rooses would find the starting-point of the final style of Rubens. To me, however, these pictures—both technically and in inspiration—seem but the glorious consummation of the methods and aims that had long dominated his brush. The real change came at a later date, after the Spanish journey and the renewed study of Titian and the other Venetians. From that time forth, but not till then, Rubens was able to give expression in his completed pictures to that unity of conception, at times to that dynamic force, that before this was only to be found in his hastily executed sketches.

Quite a number of large altar-pieces belong to this time (1625-1628). I will mention two that are little known. In the 'DECAPITATION OF ST. CATHERINE' that he painted for the church at Lille, dedicated to that saint, Rubens centred the interest on the bending figure in crimson robe preparing for the stroke of the executioner. There is a haunting charm in the figure—we have discovered something of the sort already in the St. Francis at Antwerp—that we rarely find in the artist's work. A graceful study of the saint, a drawing of unusual refinement, may be found in the Albertina. The 'ST. ROCH INTERCEDING FOR THE PLAGUE-STRICKEN,' in the cathedral at Alost, is a more rhetorical work. As usual with Rubens, it is to the figures in the foreground—in this case the writhing victims of the plague—that he confined his own brush; the heavenly vision above has been left to be mainly carried out by an assistant.

There is a long story connected with the picture—the 'CONVERSION OF ST. BAVON'—that was painted for the cathedral at Ghent. The sketch or preliminary picture that Rubens made as far back as 1612 is now in the National Gallery. But it was not till twelve years later, and for another bishop, that Rubens completed the triptych (the sketch combined the three subjects) now in the cathedral. Rubens declares in a letter to the Archduke, complaining of the delays, that the work was the finest he had ever conceived and the most beautiful ever executed in the country! The composition is indeed most accomplished—it is dominated by a band of light that takes a winding course through the picture—but the work is now a wreck. Rubens has here been at pains to present some of the figures in mediæval costumes (cf. p. 121); the *hennins* on the heads of the female onlookers to the left should be noticed.

The 'MIRACLE OF ST. FRANÇOIS DE PAUL' is only known to us by sketches; there are quite a number of these, some of great vigour—at

Vienna (2), at Munich, at Dresden, and one in England belonging to Mr. Charles Morrison. The figure of the saint floating in the air seems to have been inspired by a well-known work of Tintoretto.

The date of the 'EDUCATION OF THE VIRGIN,' now in the gallery at Antwerp, is, if we are to regard the figure of the Virgin as painted from the young Helen Fourment, fixed to about the year 1625, when the future bride of Rubens would have been eleven years old. 'La plus charmante fantaisie décorative qu'on peut voir,' says Fromentin. It is a harmony of silvery greys, conceived almost in a *rococo* spirit. What more delightful bit of painting could be found than the grey-blue dress of the Virgin—the tints pass into the blue-grey sky and are accentuated by the rosy hues of the flesh and of the flowers behind. There are passages in the background that seem to be an anticipation of Boucher, perhaps I should rather say of Fragonard at his best, and it is something of a shock to find that M. Rooses sees the hand of the dull and mechanical van Thulden in these parts (van Thulden was, by the way, only nineteen when this picture was painted). Rubens had certainly at this time some pupil or assistant who excelled in the rendering of vaporous effects with delicate rosy tints; we see his hand in some of the Olympic visions of the Luxembourg canvases, and again in the figure of the Madonna and of the surrounding angels in more than one large 'Assumption'; a weak and somewhat effeminate painter perhaps, but one with a feeling for grace and for delicate colour harmonies. With regard to the 'Education' picture, there is an old tradition that in the St. Anne we have a likeness of the painter's mother, and that the features of the St. Joseph are those of his father!

I have spoken in the first part of this work of the connection of Rubens with the Abbey of St. Michel, where both his mother and brother lay buried. It was only natural that he should put his best work into the great 'ADORATION OF THE KINGS' (now in the Gallery at Antwerp) that he painted about 1625 for the high altar of the Abbey Church; but, as I have said already, I cannot see in this ambitious work 'the inauguration of his third and last period.' Fromentin, comparing it with earlier renderings of the same subject, finds that it is 'd'une audace plus grande, d'une carrure, d'une ampleur, d'une certitude, et d'un aplomb que le peintre a rarement dépassé.' But in spite of all this the work is made up of detached fragments, each magnificent in its way. We have the portly Turk (who turns up again at

Cassel, this time as a full-length portrait[1]) and the St. Jerome-like Mage to the left—both old friends; even the camels we have seen before in the retinue of the patriarch Jacob. Only the life-sized head of the ox, that so strangely fills up a gap in the lower corner, is new. As in earlier versions of the subject, the 'Twelfth Night' spirit still reigns supreme. It should be noted that this huge work is painted on panel. About two years later, in 1627,[2] Rubens painted 'The Kings' again, this time for a church in Brussels (the picture is now in the Louvre). The composition is here somewhat simplified, the brush is loosely handled, and the painting is in parts very Titianesque. Much use is, however, still made of masses of a powerful vermilion in the draperies. There was at Blenheim a version of 'The Kings' closely resembling in composition the Louvre canvas; this picture is now at Dublin, in the possession of Lord Ardilaun.

Rubens, as we have seen, painted his earliest version of the 'ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN' not later than 1619; the latest, now in the Liechtenstein Gallery, was turned out from the studio shortly before his death. There is, however, little difference in treatment between the first and last of the series. They are all large decorative 'machines' that take their place well upon the high altar of a church. I have already mentioned the 'Assumptions' that are now at Brussels, at Vienna, and at Düsseldorf. I need not dwell upon the 'gone-over' school-piece, commissioned by one of the Fugger family, that is still to be seen in the church at Augsburg for which it was executed.

The most famous of the ASSUMPTIONS of Rubens was painted in 1626 for the high altar of the cathedral at Antwerp where it now hangs. It replaced a 'Nativity' by Frans Floris. As on other similar occasions, Rubens completed the picture on the spot; for several months he and his assistants alone had access to the choir, the services being conducted in a side chapel. Rubens received for this important work 1500 florins; he claimed in addition 45 florins for an ounce of ultramarine that had been consumed during the execution—the colour may be recognised in the Virgin's robe and on that of one of the apostles. This is, no doubt, the most successful of the master's 'Assumptions,' rich, I might almost say gay, in colour, and full of animation.

I must pass rapidly over a few other pictures that Rubens painted

[1] This has lately been recognised as the portrait of a Flemish merchant at Venice who traded with the Levant. It was perhaps through him that Rubens got his knowledge of Oriental costume.

[2] Hardly before 1629, says M. H. Hymans. See *Gaz. des Beaux Arts*, 1903.

for various churches about this time (1622-1628). The large 'AWAKENING OF LAZARUS' was sold by a French nobleman to the King of Prussia in the eighteenth century; it is now in the Berlin gallery. This carefully composed picture M. Rooses considers to be wholly the work of Rubens; others have found in it traces of the brush of Vandyke; in that case it must be earlier than the date (1624) usually assigned to it. Rubens's rhetorical treatment of religious subjects here takes a sentimental turn which is fortunately rare with the master.

Very different in handling is the 'DEPARTURE OF LOT FROM SODOM,' now in the Louvre. In the happy flow of line of this charming composition, rapidly carried out in tints of red, amber, and olive-green, we have indeed a foretaste of Rubens's later style. It was painted for the French King at the time of the master's moment of triumph on the completion of the Luxembourg pictures. As if satisfied with the work, he signed and dated it—'Pe Pa Rubens Fe A° 1625' may be read on the column to the left. The little dog that trots along in front of Lot's daughter may indeed be regarded as a second signature.

In 1628 the Augustinian confraternity (the Fathers of the Observance) ordered three pictures for their new church at Antwerp. They selected the most prominent painters of the day. Vandyke and Jordaens received each 600 florins for the works commissioned of them. But for the third picture the fathers were fain to pay to Rubens as much as 3000 florins. This is the elaborate composition, generally known as the 'MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE,' which remains still in its original position in the church of St. Augustine. It is a work that well deserves the praise given it by Reynolds[1]—it was probably, when he saw it, in a better condition than it is now. The position of the Madonna seated high up on a lofty pedestal was doubtless suggested by the arrangement in more than one picture by Titian. The passages of brilliant lighting pass in a sweeping curve right through the picture. There is a 'swing' and an impression of exuberant joy in this masterly work that place it on a level with the masterpieces of Rubens's later day. There are smaller versions at Madrid and Berlin, and numerous so-called sketches, not all by the master, turn up from time to time.

Scarcely had Rubens finished his work for the Luxembourg palace when he received from the Infanta an important commission. He was

[1] It is the 'eloquence of the artist,' he declares, that gives the interest to the picture. 'The whole subject appears as much animated and in motion as it is possible for a picture to be where nothing is doing.'—*Voyage to Flanders.*

to furnish designs for a series of tapestries to be executed at Brussels. The archduchess since the death of her husband had adopted the dress of a nun (so she appears in a portrait by Rubens now at Devonshire House). Her thoughts turned back to the Convent of the Descalzas Reales at Madrid, where she had passed some time before her marriage, and to the nuns of her old home she now presented this splendid suite of tapestry, and here indeed it is still preserved. As many as thirteen large canvases were executed in Rubens's studio; five of these celebrated the TRIUMPHS OF THE EUCHARIST OR HOLY SACRAMENT; there were four subjects from the Old Testament symbolical of the mystery; the remaining four represented in groups of two the confessors and defenders of the Eucharist. The majority of these pictures found their way at a later date to the convent of Loeches (not far from Madrid), others probably perished by fire in Brussels. The two that are now in the Louvre are part of the pillage brought from Spain by General Sebastiani. Four others came at the time into the hands of the Danish agent at Madrid, and after many adventures passed to the Marquis of Westminster; these are the four large canvases now at Grosvenor House. The Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge possesses seven sketches in *grisaille*, the first thoughts for the compositions. In the Prado are eight larger sketches, carried out in colour to a considerable degree of finish. In this series of the Holy Sacrament the architectural framework plays an important part in the composition; Rubens's favourite torque and belted columns support a heavy architrave, below are sphinxes and classical mouldings. Broadly, almost rudely painted, a brilliant effect is obtained in spite of a sparing use of primitive colours; an amber-yellow is the prevailing tone heightened by patches of red. Nowhere is the theatrical, decorative side of Rubens's art better exemplified than in these huge canvases. Perhaps no other works of Rubens meet with less favour from those who are unable to enter into the rhetorical spirit of the seventeenth century.

At this time Rubens undertook but few mythological subjects, and of these only one or two are worthy of special reference. In the small 'JUDGMENT OF PARIS' at Dresden little more than the design can be from the master's hand; it is of interest only as being an early version of the vastly superior picture in our National Gallery. The large 'CIMON AND IFIGENIA' now in Vienna—the subject is taken from one of Boccaccio's tales—was painted in 1625 for the Duke of Buckingham. Wildens and Snyders had a large share in this artificially composed work, so poor in colour. In the little sleeping boy whose head appears

above the fountain to the left we may perhaps recognise the seven-year-old Nicholas.

Among the pictures by Rubens sold at Antwerp by the heirs of the Duke of Buckingham was 'a naked woman and a hermit.' This we may doubtless identify with the 'SLEEPING ANGELICA' (from *Orlando Furioso*) of the Vienna Hofmuseum,[1] a work that may be well classed with the 'Boreas and Oreithyia' in the Academy of the same town (p. 113); they are both superlative examples of the brilliant flesh-painting and the subtle modelling of the master, in the one case at the earlier, in the other at the latter part of his middle period. In the 'Angelica' the flesh-tints are set off by the crimson carpet upon which the heroine reposes.

The 'THREE NYMPHS WITH THE HORN OF PLENTY' (in the Prado) was bought by Philip IV. from the *succession*. Here again Snyders had a large share in the painting of the fruit and the birds. At Dulwich is a sketch of the figures alone by the hand of Rubens. The picture at Brussels that is now known as 'VENUS AT THE FORGE OF VULCAN' (about 1622) has had a strange history. The part with Vulcan is a later addition painted to replace the left-hand half of the panel that had at some previous time been sawn off; the part detached is now at Dresden, where it is known as the 'OLD WOMAN WITH THE BRAZIER'; this we discover from more than one old copy made before the panel was divided. Here we have Rubens in a humorous vein, experimenting in the style of his contemporaries; the one half of the original panel is reminiscent of Jordaens, the other with the effect of artificial light, of his Dutch contemporary Honthorst, whom (it would seem, however, at a later date) he visited at Utrecht (see p. 52).[2]

Of the many examples of the 'CARITAS ROMANA' (Cimon and Perus), the most important perhaps is the one that has passed from Blenheim to the gallery of the late Consul Weber at Hamburg. There are other versions at Wimpole (Lord Hardwicke), at Amsterdam, and in the Hermitage (this last an earlier work). The head of the old man closely resembles that of the 'Drunken Lot' in the early picture which was also in the Marlborough collection.

Perhaps the finest example of Rubens's genius that we have left in our English private collections is the 'THOMYRIS AND CYRUS' of Lord Darnley. This picture has many points of resemblance with the great

[1] Herr Rosenberg is surely wrong in placing this picture as late as 1635.

[2] Two other pictures in which artificial light plays an important part may very possibly belong to this time: these are the 'Judith' and the 'Samson' which are described in the next chapter.

'Adoration' at Antwerp. As I have said, I should regard both these works as representing the culminating point of Rubens's middle period rather than as introducing his final manner. There is no unity in the picture; its merits depend upon the superlative painting of individual figures. Notice especially the man in Polish costume and a Turk beside him. Rubens at a later date painted another version of the subject, now in the Louvre; the composition is here more concentrated, but the figures have lost the vigour of the earlier work. M. Rooses will have it that there is an interval of ten years between the two works (*circa* 1623 and 1633); I should, however, be inclined to place them nearer together (say 1626 and 1630).

I have now to consider a few of the portraits that Rubens painted in the years preceding the Spanish journey. Apart from the 'Chapeau de Paille,' which I will reserve until I come to speak of the relations of the artist to the Fourment family, by far the most interesting of these is the 'ALBERT AND NICHOLAS' of the Liechtenstein Gallery, which Rubens painted about 1626, when his sons were twelve and eight years old respectively—a delightful picture, highly finished and in good condition. The gay dress of the younger boy, whose roguish face is so well known to us, is relieved against the sober, black costume of the elder.

There is evidence that Rubens between 1625 and 1628 painted several portraits of his friend the great general SPINOLA. The best known is that now in the gallery at Brunswick, but even finer is the head, perhaps the study from life for the last, that M. Durand-Ruel lately acquired from an English collection. Both these date from the time when the great general passed through Antwerp, after the capture of Breda; we have here the Spinola of 'Las Lanzas.' That in the Nostitz collection at Prague differs somewhat in the arrangement of the armour—it is probably a little later in date; there is a fourth portrait in the Leuchtenberg Gallery at St. Petersburg.

There are several fine male portraits that belong to this time, for the most part downright, solidly painted works—but nothing more. Witness the unknown man with *chagrin* expression in the Brunswick Gallery, another of a younger man with black mantle folded round his waist at Antwerp, and several finished studies of heads at Vienna. There is more refinement in the portrait of his friend, the town-secretary Gevartius, to whom Rubens entrusted the interests of his children during his long absence in Spain and Eng-

land. Gevartius, pen in hand, is seated at his work-table, on which stands a bust of Marcus Aurelius; we are here reminded of an early group of portraits in which Seneca takes the place of the Roman emperor (see pp. 19 and 92) (at Antwerp).

When in the year 1628 Rubens set out for Madrid, he took with him a number of canvases; others were forwarded later from the great studio. Pacheco, the contemporary historian of Spanish art, gives a list of eight of these pictures; only two, however, can now be discovered in the Prado gallery: the 'ACHILLES AND THE DAUGHTERS OF LYCOMEDES' is a work in which Vandyke had had a large share; it is one of those that had been rejected by Carleton in 1618 (see above, pp. 40 and 131); the other is the 'CERES AND PAN,' a pleasing picture with abundant fruit and foliage, much of it painted by Wildens. The 'Reconciliation of Jacob and Esau' also figures on Pacheco's list, and this is probably the large canvas now in Munich (p. 132). The other pictures doubtless perished in the fire at the Palace in 1734.

Nor, as far as one can judge, were the original pictures that Rubens painted during his stay in Madrid—they were chiefly royal portraits destined for his gracious mistress the Infanta—works of any great importance. Rubens relates that the king came to see him nearly every day. He found much pleasure in the conversation of the well-informed and courteous Fleming—it was a relaxation, no doubt, from the weary round of duties and ceremonies, devotional and political, that occupied so much of Philip's time.

The large EQUESTRIAN PORTRAIT OF THE KING, with allegorical figures, mentioned by Pacheco as a work of commanding merit, has disappeared. As for the many half-length portraits of PHILIP IV.—there are several in English collections—they may all, says M. Rooses, be traced back to that now in the Pinakothek, which is to be regarded as representing the official type. This is 'a very literal rendering of a very plain face,' but it is the face that we know from the many masterpieces of Velazquez, and this fact alone makes us look at Rubens's version with some interest. There are other portraits of the king in which he wears a hat; one of these is mentioned in the *succession*. So of the queen ELIZABETH OF FRANCE; the half-length at Munich may be regarded as the type; there is a replica at Vienna which is undoubtedly by the hand of Rubens. At Munich, too, is the young CARDINAL INFANT whom Rubens painted so often a few years later when, as the Archduke Ferdinand, he made his triumphant

entry into Antwerp. In the earlier portrait the red robe and cap provided a setting after the artist's heart, and he seems to have taken some interest in the pale and rather nervous face of the young prince. The other royal portraits that Rubens painted at the time cannot now be traced.

But of greater importance to us is the artistic work of another kind that Rubens found time to carry out while in Madrid. It would seem that he must have devoted every spare moment to making copies —renderings, in the case of Rubens, we may better call them—of the magnificent canvases by the great Venetian masters, of the Titians above all, that were then in the royal palace. Rubens was at the time a man of over fifty; it was not from yesterday that he had taken his place as the most famous painter in Europe. But now he was ready to go to school again, and to throw himself with youthful energy into the task of absorbing the very spirit of Titian. There were probably as many as seventy pictures by the Venetian master at that time in the Royal Palace—many of these have since perished by fire. Pacheco affirms that Rubens *copied them all.* There is no doubt some exaggeration in this. Among the pictures copied, the 'Europa,' the 'Venus and Adonis,' and the 'Two Baths' (of Diana?), as well as several portraits, are mentioned by name. Now, if we turn to the inventory of the property found in his house at his death, we find among the 'pictures made by the late Mr. Rubens in Spain, Italy, and elsewhere, after both Titian and other great masters,' a 'Callisto,' an 'Actaeon,' a 'Venus and Adonis,' an 'Adam and Eve,' an 'Europa,' 'Venus looking in a glass with Cupid,' and in addition a long list of portraits including Cardinal Ippolito Medici, Charles v. and his wife Eleonora 'on one canvas,' Philip II. on foot, and many others —thirty-two pictures in all. Some of these so-called copies, the 'Isabella d'Este,' for example, and the 'Venus with the Looking-glass' (if this is to be identified with the picture now at Vienna), are works of an earlier time—the latter indeed, if founded upon, is no copy from, Titian. Of the early copies of the 'Bacchanal' and of the 'Sacrifice to Venus,' I have already spoken—these are pictures that have followed the fortunes of Bernadotte, and have passed to Stockholm. Of the long list given in the inventory, only two, I think, can now be discovered in the Prado, the 'Adam and Eve' and the 'Europa,' and these, magnificent works as they are, are very free renderings of the Venetian master.

I have dwelt at comparative length on the obsession of Rubens

at this time by the works of Titian, for I think that this obsession had a considerable influence upon the later style of the Fleming. If we find him after this period abandoning the somewhat crude devices by means of which he had been wont to give richness to the colouring of his pictures—the patches of vermilion or crimson, for example, and the broad expanses of amber-coloured robes—and adopting henceforth a more fused handling, bringing his masses of flesh into closer relation with the rest of the picture, it is in the first place to this intimate intercourse with the works, especially the later works, of the Venetian master, that we must attribute the change. Other important advances there were during the last ten years of the great artist's career, due to causes of a more intimate and obscure nature—to physiological changes in the organism of the artist, I might say; but to use such language is after all but to evade the difficulty and to acknowledge the imperfection of our analysis.

The nine months (1629-1630) that Rubens passed in England, following as they did on this renewed study of the Venetians, came, then, at a critical period in his artistic development, and it is disappointing to find how little he produced at this time. There is no record of any copies made from the great masters. Rubens indeed mentions in a letter to Dupuy (August 5, 1629) 'the incredible number of excellent pictures, statues, and antique inscriptions preserved by the Court.' His attention at the time appears to have been especially concentrated on the marbles.

The most important picture that Rubens painted while in London is no doubt the elaborate allegory in which the blessings of peace, the peace that it was the object of his mission to bring about, are contrasted with the horrors of war. It was to clinch his argument, so to speak, that this picture was presented to Charles I. After many wanderings this fine work, now so much darkened, found its way back to England; it was presented to the National Gallery by the Marquis of Stafford as long ago as 1828. This is a work painted distinctly under Venetian influence, and we have in it one of the earliest examples of Rubens's final manner. The picture was doubtless painted in the studio of Sir Balthazar Gerbier, and it is of interest to find in it likenesses of more than one member of his host's family. We have in England a couple of pictures in which the Gerbier family is grouped. Of these, that at Windsor is the best known; the other and perhaps finer version, that has passed from Lord Radnor to Mrs. Culling-Hanbury (O.M. 1902, as 'the Family of the Duke of Buckingham'), is

apparently the work engraved by MacArdell.[1] The little girl to the right in the 'Peace and War' may be recognised in both these portrait groups; she appears again in a pleasing head of a girl at Althorp. Lady Gerbier herself probably sat for the figure of Peace. Again, in the 'VENUS AND CUPID' at Dulwich, the upper part of the principal figure is nearly identical with this same figure of Peace, so that this Titianesque work may well be classed in the same group. Finally, I may mention that there is another version of the 'Peace and War' at Munich, but this is a very inferior production with little in it by the hand of Rubens.

The 'ST. GEORGE' at Buckingham Palace is essentially a landscape, and belongs to the same class as the little 'Park Scene' at Vienna. It is distinctly a work of the final period, loosely painted and 'picturesque' in conception. Charles I., for whom the picture was executed, takes his place as St. George; the princess he has rescued is represented by the Queen. Horace Walpole is responsible for the identification of the scene with the banks of the Thames at Richmond.

The *grisaille* sketch in the National Gallery representing the 'BIRTH OF VENUS' surrounded by a border of sea-nymphs and dolphins, is a design by the hand of Rubens for a salver, which a few years later (together with a ewer with the 'Judgment of Paris') was carried out for Charles I. by Theodor Rogiers, a famous silversmith of Antwerp, and a friend of our master.

It is uncertain how far we can associate the designing of the CEILING OF THE BANQUETING HOUSE at Whitehall with the presence of Rubens in London. The sketches, however, were probably made at this time or a little later. There is indeed an interval of fourteen years (1621-1635) between the first commissioning and the final delivery of this series. The work itself was certainly not carried out earlier than 1634. Even then the canvases remained rolled up for some time, and it was not until October 1635 that Rubens sent them off from Dunkirk in the charge of one of his pupils—it was on the ground of the gout that he excused his own presence again in London. The honorarium, £3000, was not all paid till 1638; but with the final instalment the artist received from Charles a chain of gold weighing nearly seven pounds. There is no need to say anything of the ceiling itself—often and often repainted, the hand of Rubens is now scarcely

[1] M. Rooses accepts this as a work by Rubens's hand. The Windsor picture was bought in Holland for the Prince Regent as a Vandyke. This canvas has been enlarged (perhaps twice) at later dates. Whether even in the central original group the brush of the master can be recognised remains in dispute. It would be very interesting to confront the two pictures.

recognisable.[1] The sketches, on the other hand, are of considerable interest; in these the design is rapidly executed on the panel by a brush-drawn outline in sepia, a little colour is then rubbed in here and there. The manner of work should be compared with that employed for the sketches made many years earlier for the ceiling of the Jesuit church at Antwerp (p. 134). Rubens simply rioted in the daring problems of perspective that he here set himself. The subject is the 'Happy Reign and Apotheosis of James I.' and the poor old king takes the place of Solomon or of a Hebrew prophet amid torque columns and impossible architecture, or again floats up to heaven feet forward, borne on the back of Jove's eagle. One of the finest of these sketches is in the Academy at Vienna, two are in the Hermitage (ex Walpole collection), and others may be found at Brussels, Antwerp, Paris, at Richmond in the Cook Gallery, and in other private collections in England. A good idea of their style may be formed from the little 'Apotheosis' (of Buckingham or another) in the National Gallery.

How important a bearing the political relations of Rubens had upon his work as a painter is well exemplified by the history of the never-completed series that was to illustrate the LIFE OF HENRI IV. and to form the complement, in the other wing of the Luxembourg Palace, to the Medici canvases. I may well end this chapter, that opened with the triumph of the earlier series, with some explanation of the breakdown of this supplemental commission.

It was soon after the completion, in 1625, of the earlier work that Richelieu made his final and decisive bid for power. His policy was strongly anti-Spanish; Rubens meantime had more and more identified himself with the Spanish court. The unhappy Queen-Dowager had now to bow before the great Cardinal. But Rubens, although he met with little encouragement from the all-powerful minister, was himself eager to carry through the great work, recognising the artistic capabilities of the subject, and at the time when, in 1628, he was summoned to Madrid, he was well advanced in his designs. It was probably at this juncture that Richelieu proposed to transfer the commission to Le

[1] This is a statement that in view of the recent restoration requires some modification. The canvases have been stretched and provided with a suitable backing so that the quilt-like sagging no longer interferes with the effect. The ceiling had been previously restored by Kent in the reign of George II.; by Cipriani in 1785; as well as twice during the nineteenth century. Although the canvases are still too dark in relation to the elaborate gilt framing, there is an opulent and truly Rubens-like effect in the ceiling as a whole. It may be noted that the central oval piece measures 32 ft. by 21 ft. It thus surpasses in size the largest of the Medici canvases (January 1908).

Josepin (otherwise the Cavaliere D'Arpino)—but it was soon recognised that he was too old for such an undertaking. The Queen in despair attempted to enter into relations with Guido; the name of Guercino was also mentioned. But nothing came of all this, and on his return from England early in 1630, Rubens again took up the task and was at once busy scheming the arrangement of the twenty-four pictures that were to illustrate the life of Henri IV. In the inventory of the *succession* there is mention of six large unfinished canvases belonging to this series; only two of them can now be traced; these are the huge pictures—they are 22 feet in length—long in the Niobe room at the Uffizi; one—'THE BATTLE OF IVRY'—is a *mêlée* of cavalry loosely sketched in; the other—'THE ENTRY OF HENRY IV. INTO PARIS'—is carried somewhat further. Both subjects are treated in a classical spirit; in the latter work may be found some reminiscences of the 'Triumphs' of Mantegna (cf. p. 94). As bearing on the manner of execution of such large canvases, it is of interest to discover that the hand of the master is in evidence throughout both these unfinished pictures.[1] There are numerous small sketches on panel for these and other subjects of the series; in England, there are three at Hertford House and one at Cobham; of those in continental galleries the most important are the vigorous 'TAKING OF PARIS' at Berlin, and the two curious designs in the Liechtenstein Gallery.

But already in 1631 Marie de Médicis was a prisoner at Compiègne, and the great Cardinal ruled all with an iron hand. After this there was no question of any dealings with a painter who had all through identified himself with the Spanish party at the French Court, and now openly sympathised with the fugitive Queen (cf. Rubens's letter to Olivares, p. 57).

Before proceeding to describe the work of the last and most glorious period of the artistic career of Rubens, I will turn aside for a moment to consider the renderings that he made, at various periods of his life, of his own features. There will be some convenience in removing these from their true chronological position, and placing them as it were side by side.

Of the portraits that Rubens painted of himself, the earliest that is known to us is that of the honey-suckle bower, where he appears with his young bride (see p. 97). Not much later, perhaps, is the hatless

[1] The same remark applies to the still more unfinished 'CAPTURE OF TUNIS BY CHARLES V.,' at Berlin.

portrait in the Uffizi (1602 according to Rosenberg, while Rooses gives it to the year 1628—let the reader note the discrepancy!), a replica of which has been 'painted into' the Lipsius group of the Pitti (p. 91). But it is in the Windsor portrait of 1623 that all subsequent generations have agreed to find the typical representation of the man. This portrait was painted at the urgent request of Lord Danvers, and it was destined for the gallery of the Prince of Wales. Writing to Valavès (June 1625) Rubens says:—'Le prince de Galles est le prince le plus amateur de peinture qui soit au monde . . . Il m'a demandé . . . avec telle instance mon pourtraict qu'il n'y eut aucun moyen de le pouvoir refuzer, encore qu'il ne me semblait convenable d'envoyer mon pourtraict à un prince de telle qualité, mais il força ma modestie.' The version of this portrait now in the Uffizi is equally fine; it is probably of the same date or even earlier; the replica or rather copy, now at Aix, was sent by Rubens to his friend Peiresc in 1628. Its world-wide fame the Windsor portrait owes above all to the fine engraving of Pontius. In the later impressions of this engraving, the severe and even bitter expression noticeable in the rare early states (traces of which may indeed be seen in the Windsor portrait itself) has been replaced by the suave and self-possessed air that has come to be indelibly associated with the artist. This famous engraving is dated 1630, and it is evident that a version of the portrait, or at least some careful drawings, must have been preserved at Antwerp.

Much weaker, but more genial in expression, is the portrait now in the Arenberg collection. We may perhaps regard it as a study for the figure in the 'Morning Walk'; this would place it about the year 1631. With the Arenberg portrait we may again connect a fine drawing in the Albertina.

Few portraits surpass in psychological interest that which Rubens painted of himself a few years before his death. It is now at Vienna; the photograph should be carefully compared with that of the Windsor portrait. There is little colour in this picture; the hair, scanty on the face, is still of a brownish tint; but physical suffering, mental anxiety, constant pressure of work, perhaps over-indulgence in more than one direction, have left their mark on the pinched features. Notice above all the shape of the nose, now thin and pointed. In the Louvre is a chalk sketch for this late portrait, essentially a study of drapery.

CHAPTER XIII

Portraits of the Fourment Family—Susanna—Helen—The Final Triumph of Rubens's Art—The Kermesse—The Later Martyrdoms—Designs for the 'Happy Entry'—Later Portraits—Later Mythological Pieces.

THE most important event in the life of Rubens after his return to Antwerp in the spring of 1630 was doubtless his marriage in the following December to Helen Fourment. Twelve years earlier, when Helen was a child of four, he had painted her eldest sister CLARA, already the wife of PETER VAN HECKE; the husband he painted at the same time, and both these fine portraits belong now to Baron Edmond de Rothschild (see above p. 128). But it was the third daughter of Daniel Fourment, the rabbit-eyed Susanna (see p. 61) who had most frequently sat to Rubens—as many as seven portraits of her are catalogued in the inventory of the *succession*. Her quaint features may often be recognised in the pictures of Rubens's middle period, just as at an earlier time we find those of Isabella Brant, and during the last ten years of his life those of Helen. Susanna was born in 1599; she was married for the first time in 1617, and since 1622 she had been the wife of Arnold Lunden. M. Rooses repudiates the old story that Susanna was the mistress of Rubens (she is so entitled on an old engraving), and will have it that she was a woman of some culture in whose society the artist found much intellectual pleasure. 'Elle était sa bien-aimée, héroïne d'un petit roman vécu par Rubens en tout bien, toute honneur.' Her face is well known to us from the 'CHAPEAU DE PAILLE,'[1] in the National Gallery. This masterly piece of work, carefully and elaborately carried out, but fresh and brilliant as a sketch, was probably painted shortly before her second marriage. The powerful drawing of Susanna in red chalk in the Albertina may have been made somewhat later; in this the large eyes, placed wide apart beneath a preternaturally tall arched forehead, are even more marked than in the National Gallery picture. The portrait of Susanna in the Louvre is probably of about the same time as this drawing. Rubens was then

[1] The hat, of course, is not of straw but of felt. The original title was perhaps 'Chapeau d'Espagne' and the Flemish word *Spaansch* (Spanish) was confused with *Spanen* (straw).

occupied with the Medici canvases, and in these Susanna's face may perhaps here and there be recognised (see especially the left-hand nymph in the 'Education of the Queen'). Of quite a different character is the full-length portrait of Susanna now in the Hermitage; if we give five years to the archly smiling little girl who stands by her mother's side, this must have been painted in 1630, for her daughter Catherine was born in 1625. This picture has sometimes been attributed to Vandyke; it certainly does not fit in well with the other work of Rubens at this period—indeed, the costume seems to point to an earlier date.[1]

To give a list of all the pictures in which the features of Helen Fourment may be recognised would be almost equivalent to making a catalogue of the work produced by Rubens during the last ten years of his life. We may pass from the definite portrait on the one hand, to an allegorical or mythological composition on the other, or again to a garden scene or a landscape, but it is seldom that the well-known figure is not to be recognised. What is to be noted is that with the year of his marriage begins what, for my part, I regard as the greatest and most significant part of Rubens's career. When one calls to mind one of the master's earlier works what one pictures is the beauty or the bravura painting of a passage here and there; but in the case of the great canvases of the latest period the whole scene presents itself to the mind's eye, so subtly and intimately are the lines and hues woven, so subject is every detail to the total vision of the artist.[2] In spite of increasing infirmities, this wonderful man, all his political ambitions thrown aside, was now about to enter a final period of production, and to turn out works on the basis of which we are for the first time justified in finding him a place beside his younger contemporaries Rembrandt and Velazquez, as one of the three great artists of the seventeenth century. I do not think that in his marriage to a young and beautiful wife, any more than in the renewed study of the great Venetians, of which I have already spoken, a satisfactory and complete explanation is to be found for this late flaring up of genius.

[1] Apart from her ruff, Susanna here wears the same dress as the Isabella Brant of about 1623, also in the Hermitage. Not only that, but an identical triple chain hangs from the neck in both portraits. I must confess that I do not understand the relation of Susanna to Rubens. On the drawing of her in the Albertina, a contemporary hand has written 'Suster van Herr Rubbens.' Again, in an inventory of the possessions of the Lunden family, made before 1650, three portraits, undoubtedly of the same lady, are entered as 'Susanna Rubens.'

[2] This unity we may indeed often find in the *oil sketches* of the earlier period. It is perhaps significant that these sketches are for the most part wanting in the case of the later pictures.

These were no doubt elements that had a bearing on the change, but, as I have more than once hinted, there were other more subtle influences at work, psychological perhaps or even physiological in nature, that obstinately defy our powers of analysis. The marriage, the Venetian studies, these may have been elements that gave to some deeply rooted stimulus a direction along a favourable path. But whence that stimulus had its origin—from what subliminal depths where it had so long lain dormant or had only imperfectly found means of directing the hand of the artist—that is a question that I do not think can be answered by any theory of the artistic *milieu*, any more than the nature of the stimulus itself can be explained by an analysis of the mental or physical equipment of the artist himself. The full expression of Rubens's genius had no doubt long been, to some degree, hampered by his subjugation to what may be called the shibboleths of the day, by his acceptance of the conventions of the seventeenth-century antiquaries and theologians. But there is no evidence that Rubens had, at the period we have now reached, to any great extent shaken himself free from these shackles—his love of allegory and a certain rhetorical spirit continued, it would seem, to the end. No doubt as time went on the hand answered more readily to the direction that proceeded from the brain, or shall I say from some deeply seated consciousness hardly recognised by the artist himself. All this, of course, is no explanation. But what I want to accentuate is, that *we have no explanation* of such phenomena, and that in spite of much elaborate teaching to the contrary, the source and conditions of the inspiration of the superlatively great painter or poet or musician are as unknown to us as they were to the contemporaries of Homer or of Pheidias. To me the commanding interest of Rubens's artistic career is to be found, above all, in the clear evidence that it presents of this limitation of our knowledge.

Portraits of Helen Fourment. Of the many renderings of Helen, but few are treated as mere portraits: some are to be regarded as studies, in others she takes her place in a composition. In the full-length seated figure at Munich, she is decked out as a bride; a black outer robe is thrown open to show a skirt of white silk brocaded with gold; in her hands is a sprig of orange-blossom; the heavy gold chain that she wears had once belonged to Isabella Brant. She has thrown herself down on a chair, cheerful and contented, but glad of a moment's rest from the whirl of the festivities. For the head of this portrait Mr. Heseltine has a large careful study in black chalk, and this has served also for the bust of Helen now at Amsterdam. There is at

Windsor a portrait of a lady very similarly attired, but the features, I think, are not, as some have imagined, those of Helen.[1]

The girlish head of Helen, looking round with arch smile, slightly painted on panel (in the collection of the late Consul Weber at Hamburg) may very likely have been made before her marriage. In the half-length at Munich her smile is quite of another kind, and in keeping with the expression is the *bravura* execution of the portrait. Nowhere does Helen better succeed in assuming the self-possessed air of a *grande dame* than in the full-length at St. Petersburg; this fine work is painted with great refinement; the hands above all are worthy of notice.

Of Helen as a young mother we have two delightful renderings. At Munich we see her embracing her first-born Frans, who sits on her knee, hat on head, but otherwise nude. In this picture, slight in execution and painted *d'un coup*, a peculiar touch of the brush may be noted, to be found in one or two other works of this time—the dabs of paint are placed side by side, and the result is an effect of great brilliancy. A little later, and perhaps even more beautiful, is the panel that for so long found a place of honour in the *Salon carré* of the Louvre. In this only the heads are finished; to that of Helen Rubens has given a concentrated expression of maternal regard rare with the painter—the children are bright and *espiègles*. The unfinished parts are swiftly drawn with a brush dipped in sepia and a few 'sweeps' of colour are added here and there. There is no reason to regret that this picture was never finished.

We now pass to the pictures where Helen takes her place in a more or less elaborated composition. At Blenheim were two superb works of this class; when the Marlborough collection was broken up they were sold together for £55,000, and are now in Paris in the possession of the Rothschild family. In the first, Helen leans on her husband's arm; in front, in leading strings which the mother holds, toddles the little lad, their first-born, his head encircled by a *bourrelet* (to preserve him from a broken crown should he fall); behind by a fountain a gorgeous parrot perches beside some gay flowers. Surely never was

[1] It may possibly represent her sister, Elizabeth Fourment, who, in 1627, was married to Nicolas Picquery. M. Rooses sees in it a likeness to Isabella Brant, and dates it as early as 1614 (*Vie de Rubens*, pp. 120-121)—the costume alone would surely make this impossible. The fact, he thinks, that it comes from the Lunden family, and has always passed as Rubens's first wife, makes any other attribution out of the question. But family traditions are notoriously inaccurate and the very fact that the picture passed with the 'Chapeau de Paille' (Susanna Fourment) to a member of the family of his *second* wife points distinctly the other way. There is a slight chalk drawing for this picture in the National Gallery (ex Peel collection). See also note, p. 187.

ment that was come to in March 1620 between Rubens and the director of the *maison professe* has been preserved. In it Rubens undertakes to complete before the end of the year thirty-nine pictures destined to take their place in the new church, on the ceiling of the aisles and of the gallery that ran above (the aisles, as in some of Wren's city churches, were in two stories, and divided from the nave by a double row of arcading). It was especially stipulated that the designs were in every case to be by Rubens; the canvases on the ceiling, however, might be painted by Vandyke or other pupils. For the complete series Rubens was to receive 7000 florins. The high altar of the church had been designed, in part at least, by Rubens himself, and for it he had already undertaken to paint two large altar-pieces, which were to be exposed to view in turn. These were to illustrate the MIRACLES OF ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA and of ST. FRANCIS XAVIER, the two great saints of the order. In 1718 this gorgeous building, which rivalled in magnificence the church of the Gesù at Rome, was struck by lightning, and the body of the church, along with the thirty-nine canvases on the ceilings of the aisles, was destroyed by the fire that ensued. Now Rubens had retained the sketches for this series, painting in return for them the large 'Assumption,' now in the Gallery at Vienna. Of these seventeen are now known—four are in the Louvre, six in the Academy at Vienna, five in the grand-ducal Museum at Gotha, one at Brussels, and finally one with us in the Dulwich Gallery. These boldly executed sketches are carried out on panel with thin washes of pale but bright and clear colours. They are above all remarkable for the masterly perspective of the figures, arranged so as to be seen from below. It was on this account perhaps that Rubens so prized them. Of special merit are the 'ELEVATION OF THE CROSS' and the 'CROWNING OF THE VIRGIN' in the Louvre. The decoration of the Antwerp ceilings doubtless served as a model for many later works in similar positions that have adorned the baroque churches of the Jesuits and of other orders.

For the two big miracle pictures that Rubens painted for the high altar he received 3000 florins, this time giving up the original sketches. These large altar-pieces escaped all injury in the fire, but of the sketches which appear to have been at the time in the church, one at least has suffered. Both pictures and sketches were bought by the Austrian Government in 1775, and they now hang side by side in the Imperial Museum at Vienna, offering a rare occasion for comparison and study. In the powerful sketches there is little positive colour. On a ground of pale lavender that has been scumbled over the white lining of the

INTERIOR OF THE JESUITS' CHURCH, ANTWERP

(FROM THE PICTURE BY GHERINGH IN THE HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA)

panel, the design is sketched in in subdued tones, with here and there a touch of crimson; but the great red patches of the finished canvases are here, as elsewhere in the case of sketches, absent. These huge miracle pictures are indeed dull works, totally wanting in spontaneity; the interest is concentrated on the rendering of maniacal seizure and the resuscitation of the dead; little more than the figures of the patients are by the master's hand. The miracles of St. Francis Xavier are supposed to take place in Japan, but Rubens was not concerned with any question about the 'local colour.' What is remarkable is to find in parts a return to certain types characteristic of Rubens's Italian period. Indeed in both works I see the mannered hand of some early assistant rather than that of Vandyke. Rubens painted another version of the Ignatian miracles for the Genoese banker Nicolo Pallavicini. This large picture is now in the Church of S. Ambrogio at Genoa.

Of the other large decorative pieces that Rubens painted before and after 1620 for the altars of various churches, the most important fall into two series: one concerned with the Assumption of the Virgin, the other with the Adoration of the Kings or Magi.

The ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN was painted five times by Rubens, and three of the series were executed at this time. Rubens's treatment of the subject may be regarded as a passage from the conception of Titian to that of Murillo—with these three artists above all we connect the scene. The earliest of the 'Assumptions' of Rubens was painted in 1619. It was a present from the Archduke to the church of the Barefooted Carmelites at Brussels. The picture now hangs in the gallery of that town. This is no doubt an eminently successful work, but nothing more—'brilliant and cold, uninspired as to the theme, methodical and prudent in the execution,' says Fromentin. Only the figures round the tomb can we regard as entirely by the master, the upper part has only been touched by him. It is characteristic of Rubens that here, as in so many other cases, the part of the picture that he looked upon as most important and that he reserved for himself does not include what we should regard as the principal figure. As a colour scheme the whole picture is dominated by the vermilion robe of the Apostle leaning over the empty tomb. At Buckingham Palace is a small version of this picture, probably made for the engraver.

Very inferior on the whole is the great panel, now in the Hofmuseum at Vienna, which Rubens completed a little later for his Jesuit

friends at Antwerp, to redeem, as I have already mentioned, his thirty-nine sketches. But this picture has suffered much, first in the fire at the Jesuit Church, and again when it was sawn into three segments by the Commissioner Denon before its removal from Vienna to Paris in 1809.

More decorative in conception is a third 'Assumption' that Rubens painted at this time for another church at Brussels (La Chapelle). This picture was bought in 1711 by the Bavarian Elector, and has remained ever since at Düsseldorf, the one representative of the famous Rubenses that Sir Joshua saw in that town.[1] On one occasion, when it was proposed to move this huge panel, the waggon that bore it broke down in the market-place, and the attempt was never repeated.

The two 'Assumptions' that Rubens painted at a later period (Antwerp Cathedral, 1626; and Liechtenstein Gallery, 1638) I shall treat of in a subsequent chapter.

Rubens painted the ADORATION OF THE KINGS not less than eight times.[2] Of that painted in 1610 for the town hall at Antwerp I have already spoken; of the others, four fall within our present division of time. This was a subject that must have been entirely after Rubens's heart. Here was an opportunity for the elaborate grouping of figures clad in gorgeous Oriental robes. The whole is conceived in the spirit of the spectacular arrangements—Twelfth-Night or *Presepio* scenes—so popular at the time. It is to be noted that Rubens in these pictures concentrates his attention not less upon the attendants than upon the kings or magi themselves; some of these individual figures are magnificent examples of the great artist's brush. On the other hand, the Virgin Mother and the Infant Christ hold but a secondary position, and the execution of this part is often left to an assistant.

The 'Adoration' now in the Brussels Gallery came from the Capucin church at Tournai. The scene is full of animation; the crowd on the staircase at the side is kept back by men-at-arms. The beams of the sun almost extinguish the light of the smoky torches. The king in the centre is a mass of vermilion; behind him stands the white-turbaned Caspar, and the kneeling king is robed in amber-coloured brocade.

The great triptych that Rubens painted for the church of St. Jean

[1] The others are now in Munich.

[2] Madrid, 1610; Brussels, 1618; Lyons, 1618; Malines, 1619; St. Petersburg, 1620; Antwerp, 1624; Paris, 1627; Grosvenor House, 1632. Besides these there were studies and replicas as well as other 'Adorations' that are now lost.

at Malines, was commissioned as early as 1616. As in the case of the other important works of Rubens in that city, the panels were forwarded by boat to Antwerp. The wings and the *predella* (now in part at Marseilles) were finished first; the central panel was sent off in 1619; in 1624 one of Rubens's pupils was sent to clean and varnish the whole work. In the same year Rubens gave a receipt for the final instalment of the payment. The picture still remains in its original position over the high altar. In the central panel the miraculous light that encircles the Child is contrasted with the ruddy glare from the flaming torches. As for the kings or magi, they follow closely upon the Brussels picture. The effect of rich colour is obtained, as in all of this series, by simple means. The subjects on the shutters are taken from the life and death of the two Johns—the precursor and the evangelist. What Rubens says of the work—that it is all by his own hand—can only apply to the central panel. The wings are at best gone over in parts by him.

Rubens must have had a much smaller share in the 'Adoration' now at Lyons. This picture was bought in 1698 by the Elector of Bavaria; in 1800 it was taken by the French from the Electoral Gallery at Schleissheim; having found its way to a provincial gallery, it was overlooked at the time of the Restoration.

The 'Adoration' now in the Hermitage dates from about the same time, or possibly a little later. It was bought in Holland for Catherine in 1770. Caspar, the negro king, clothed in a scarlet mantle, here occupies the central place and dominates the rest. According to M. Rooses, this is only a school-piece, slightly touched by Rubens. Two other versions of the 'Adoration' that are known to have been painted about this time have not been traced.

Rubens found much less to interest him in the 'ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS,' though he painted the subject more than once at this period. He treated it for the most part as a scene from peasant life; a stalwart milkmaid plays an important part. The well-polished milk cans of brass that she carries, or which stand beside her, are familiar to all visitors to the Low Countries—the form has not changed since Rubens's day. In the picture at Rouen the shepherdess hands an egg to the infant Christ; there are three careful studies for this figure in the Albertina. Another 'Adoration' in the church of the Madeleine at Lille is very similarly treated. A third, now at Munich, was painted for that Jesuit church at Neuburg for which, at the instigation of the newly converted Duke Wolfgang Wilhelm, Rubens executed so many

large and uninteresting works. This huge picture is a poor, dull affair, with little sign of Rubens's brush. Even in the composition it is difficult to trace the hand of the master. In the angels floating above we are strangely taken back to the mannerisms of the Italian period; the only explanation I can offer is that this part may be the work of some belated assistant, possibly of that mysterious Deodato who accompanied Rubens to Italy. The 'Adoration of the Shepherds' formed again one of the subjects on the ceiling of the Jesuit church; the powerful sketch, in exaggerated perspective, is now in the Academy at Vienna. Finally we see the milkmaid and the humble offerings of the shepherds in the little *predella* of the St. Jean triptych that has passed from Malines to Marseilles.

If among sacred subjects Rubens found the *mise en scène* that above all others satisfied him in the Magi and their Oriental retinue, so among classical compositions it was the noisy and riotous throng that accompanies the march of the aged Silenus that supplied him with a congenial motive. In the swing and *abandon* of the motley crew of satyrs, fauns, and woodland nymphs, as they rush forward, half supporting, half dragging along their old chief, he indeed met with a subject after his own heart.

We have a link between such pictures as these and the hunting scenes that have already been dealt with, in such works as 'DIANA RETURNING FROM THE CHASE,' of which there are two examples at Dresden. These two pictures have much in common, but while the one with half-length figures is (apart from the fruit and the dogs, which may be by Snyders) entirely by the master's hand, the other is little more than a 'touched' work. They are neither of them, it would seem, later than 1615 or 1616.

If we turn to the 'MARCH OF SILENUS' of the Pinakothek, or again to the great canvas of the same subject that has passed from Blenheim to the gallery at Berlin, it is still the same reckless throng; but now the restraining influence of the divine huntress is removed and the orgiastic spirit reigns supreme. The same heads appear in all these pictures. Notice especially the archly grinning nymph, a favourite type at this time—a type, however, in which I can see little resemblance to Isabella Brant. The Munich 'Silenus' was in the *succession*, and was subsequently sold by Rubens's nephew to the Duc de Richelieu. Philip Rubens, in a letter to De Piles, says that the picture was painted in 1613; it is, however, generally held to be some five years

later. The Blenheim 'Silenus,' it is stated, was given to Marlborough by the Emperor. The bounding tiger in both works is a link with the 'natural history' series of the years 1618-1620. The 'MARCH OF SILENUS' in our National Gallery was, it would seem, painted several years after this. Here the soft yielding flesh of the old drunken chief, strained like a wine-skin as he falls back into the arms of his attendants, is the centre of artistic interest. In these last three pictures the figures are entirely by the hand of the master; the animals, fruit, and flowers probably the work of Snyders.

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CHAPTER XII

The Four Main Periods—The Luxembourg Pictures—Religious Pictures of the Third Decade—Profane Subjects—Pictures painted in Madrid—In England.

IN tracing the history of Rubens's life we have found that the year 1621 forms a convenient dividing point. In the first place, it is the central year of his artistic career, and with it comes to an end the busy period during which Rubens's interest was concentrated upon the rapid outturn of panels and canvases for churches and princely galleries. During the next ten years—which saw indeed the production of many a famous work—there is a marked falling off in the number of his pictures. It was a time of political activity and of diplomatic journeys to foreign courts. The remaining decade of the great artist's life, which we associate with his second marriage and his life as a country gentleman, is again a period of restless production. I feel it indeed impossible to mark the artistic career of Rubens by any sharp dividing lines; the change of style is gradual, and there are many relapses into earlier manners. All attempts at systematic arrangement have only led, after Procrustean efforts, to the arrangement of the works of the master into obviously incongruous divisions. According as weight is given to external evidence—this often of the vaguest description—or to supposed characteristics of style, we find at times a difference of ten or even twenty years in the date attributed to a picture by writers of equal authority. At the best we may discover in the career of Rubens two dates that may be regarded as critical—as turning-points as well for his material life as for his artistic style. The first of these dates is that of the artist's return from Italy, the other that of his second marriage. Halfway between the two comes the year 1621, as I have said, an important one in the artist's life.

I would prefer, then, to divide Rubens's career as an artist into four periods of about ten years each.

1. The eclectic or Italian period, before the development of any distinct personal style (1600-1608).

2. The period of unresting production at Antwerp, including the organisation of his studio (1609-1621).

3. The period of politics and diplomatic journeys (1621-1630).

4. The period succeeding his second marriage—the time of the Helen portraits, the late landscapes and the numberless pictures hastily executed for Philip IV. (1630-1640).

These periods, it will be seen, roughly correspond to the first four decades of the seventeenth century, and are thus easily borne in mind.

I have called the third decade of Rubens's artistic life the period of diplomatic journeys. Now the most important work undertaken during this time, one that kept him occupied for the greater part of four years (1622-1625) and that involved as many as three journeys to Paris, had, as we have seen, many relations to the politics and diplomatic intrigues of the time. I refer, of course, to the great series of canvases illustrating the history of Marie de Médicis.

The Queen on her return from her exile (August 1620) occupied herself with the embellishment of the Luxembourg Palace that in the first year of her regency Salomon de Brosse had built for her on the southern heights of Paris. The two main *corps du bâtiment* of the new building were connected on either side by a lengthy gallery. In the right wing it was determined to place a series of pictures illustrating the life of the Queen, in the left a corresponding series dealing with the career of her husband, the late King; the execution, however, of the latter work was left to a future date.

The selection of the subjects was made in the first instance by the Queen herself; they were in a manner to constitute an *apologia* for her past life. This was, of course, in view of the involved relations of political parties, and of the still insecure position of Marie—it was but a few years later that she was driven out again to end her days in exile—a matter of some delicacy; many changes were indeed made during the execution of the work. No less difficult was it to find a painter who would do justice to so ambitious a scheme. There was certainly no one in France in whose hands the commission could be placed, although Simon Vouet was for a moment thought of. Indeed, it was soon evident that there was but one artist living capable of carrying through the work. This was the great Fleming, of whose talents Marie had already heard from her friend and correspondent the Archduchess Clara Eugenia.

The preliminary negotiations were left in the hands of Claude

Maugis, the Queen's treasurer, and the BARON DE VICQ, agent or minister of the Archdukes at the French court. Of the latter Rubens painted, after the completion of the great work, an admirable portrait which is now in the Louvre. The great painter arrived in Paris early in 1622, and for the sum of 20,000 crowns undertook to carry out both the series. This was indeed a task after his own heart, nor did the difficulties connected with the choice and treatment of the subjects alarm him—they were but occasions and excuses for introducing the elaborate allegories in the scheming of which he so delighted. During the first visit of six weeks Rubens probably did little beyond making some studies of the Queen's head (now in the Louvre and the Albertina), perhaps of others also who had to find their place in the pictures. What is more of interest to us is that he now made the personal acquaintance of his correspondent Peiresc, in whose hands he left most of the troublesome details connected with the size and arrangement of the canvases. In addition to the portraits of Marie and of her parents (the Grand Duke Cosmo and his wife Johanna of Austria) there were to be twenty-one large historical subjects.

During the spring and autumn of 1622 Rubens was occupied at Antwerp with a series of sketches that he made for the great work. These sketches he subsequently presented to Maugis; according to Peiresc, his hand was forced in this matter. Of these preliminary sketches the greater number may now be seen in the gallery at Munich; five are in the Hermitage, and one has found its way to the Louvre. They are of supreme interest to the student, throwing light upon Rubens's method of work at the time. Some are more finished than others, but in all the composition is already definitely fixed. What is above all noticeable in them is the absence of all positive colour; the crimson draperies of the finished pictures are represented by pale pinkish tints; some are little more than *grisailles*, carried out in greyish lavender and pink, a few notes of colour and the high lights being dashed in here and there. It has been suggested by a French critic that by thus keeping the sketches in a low key of colour, Rubens was better able to control his assistants. 'A middle scale was maintained that allowed Rubens to touch the work freely and to alter it without fear of rendering it heavy and opaque' (É. Michel, *Rubens*, vol. ii. p. 31).

Already in May 1623, Rubens was able to bring with him to Paris not only the series of sketches, but nine of the large canvases far advanced towards completion. These were placed in the gallery

MARIE DE MÉDICIS

LOUVRE, PARIS

and carefully guarded from all eyes but those of the Queen-Mother and the great Cardinal. This was only a flying visit; eighteen months more were required to complete the work. It was stipulated that all the pictures should be in place ready for inspection by the many distinguished guests that were assembled in Paris on the occasion of the marriage of the Queen's daughter, Henrietta, to the son of the English king.[1] Fortunately the date of this marriage was somewhat delayed, and Rubens had time after his arrival in Paris not only to put the final touches to his canvases, but, according to one account, to paint an entirely new picture. This was the 'Prosperity of the Regency,' that was to take the place of one of the original canvases that represented the flight of the Queen from Paris—the latter composition we only know from the sketch now at Munich; the grounds for the rejection one can readily understand. De Piles tells us that Marie, during the time that Rubens was thus occupied, spent many hours with him in the gallery, eagerly watching the artist while at work and delighted with his conversation. The Queen, we must remember, was, with all her faults, a woman of artistic temperament—that came to her with her Medici blood. She may perhaps be reckoned as an artist herself; at least she is said to have acquired the art of engraving on wood.

Of Rubens's experiences in Paris, and of the part he took in the festivities of the royal marriage, I have said something in the first part of this book (see pp. 45-46). I will here only mention in this connection a curious panel, now in the Liechtenstein Gallery, on which Rubens has sketched in an elaborate mythological scene, 'APOLLO DRIVING OUT DIANA.' This sketch is identical in composition with a fresco, in the manner of Primaticcio, which at that time covered the ceiling of a room at Fontainebleau. The work of the Italian must have appealed to the great Fleming when he visited the palace in company with Buckingham and Gerbier. Even in the moment of his triumph Rubens was open to receive fresh suggestions.

I shall not attempt to describe the Luxembourg series. The elaborate allegory that plays so important a part in the composition is of little interest to us; it was indeed difficult of interpretation even at the time. A writer of the day published a poem upon the pictures, in which he professed to provide a key to the enigma. Rubens was indignant at the presumption, and repudiated the proposed explanation. He was, however, by no means eager to elucidate the

[1] Charles was already king himself at the date of the marriage.

matter himself. The position, as I have said, was a delicate one. While flattering the *Reine Mère*, he had to avoid anything that would give offence to the young King, and there was the Cardinal in the background preparing for his final spring.

From the point of view of art, perhaps the most noticeable point about the series as a whole is the uniform standard of excellence attained. It is here less easy than in the case of other pictures of Rubens to distinguish the parts executed by the assistants from the work of the master. We are completely in the dark as to who these assistants were. There is a tradition that Justus van Egmont, then quite a young man, was with Rubens in Paris, and there is mention in his correspondence of a certain Maximilian, of whom nothing further is known; Wildens's hand may perhaps be recognised in some of the backgrounds. As in other works of the time, it is the abundant use made of masses of a bright crimson—not the unmitigated vermilion of earlier days—together with a good deal of an amber yellow in the draperies, that gives the general key to the colour-scheme. It is by contrast with these colours that the greyish tertiary blues and greens are made to do the work of pure primitive pigments. A general richness and harmony is thus maintained, without any crude contrasts of colour. In another respect these canvases are characteristic of the middle period of the artist, if not of his work generally. Nowhere is the absence of pronounced passages of shadow more striking; there is on the whole a uniform distribution of illumination.

No one of the Luxembourg series is more brilliant in effect than the 'EXCHANGE OF THE PRINCESSES,' and this is largely due to the masses of deep-toned red that encircle the central figures. Here we have the careful full-length portraits of Anne of Austria and of Elizabeth de Bourbon, and with this picture as a guide it is surprising that there should have been so much confusion in the attribution of other portraits that Rubens painted of these two princesses. The suave beauty and the elegance of the 'BIRTH OF LOUIS XIII,' has gained it many admirers—the feet of Marie have served as a model for many generations of young painters. On the whole, in this series as elsewhere, Rubens has put most of his own work into the figures in the foreground, even if these take but a subordinate place in the scene—witness the beautifully painted cupids playing with armour or riding upon lions—while when we come to the Olympian gods and goddesses, the execution is less convincingly that of the master.

The pictures were cleaned in 1775, again in 1858 (when a coat of

varnish was removed), and finally when quite lately they were removed to the room specially built for them. They are now almost as rich and brilliant in effect as when first painted. Taken as a whole, these are paintings in face of which it is impossible to work oneself up to any great pitch of enthusiasm. Rubens knew what was expected of him and gave of his talent in overflowing measure, but this was not an occasion when he could safely 'let himself go,' nor one for breaking fresh artistic ground.

There is a small group of portraits, chiefly of royal personages, that Rubens painted at this time, more or less in connection with the Medici series. Of the portraits that he painted of MARIE DE MÉDICIS, only one calls for mention. This is the literal rendering that he retained for his own use; it passed after his death to the Spanish King, and is now in the Prado. In the Louvre there is a portrait of ANNE OF AUSTRIA, of which the head is identical with that in the Luxembourg canvas of the 'Exchange of the Princesses'; for all that, this portrait long went under the name of 'Elizabeth of France.' There is another portrait of Anne in the Prado; the two pictures are in part identical and both belong to this time. What is apparently a replica of the last was formerly at Blenheim, and this, it would seem, must be the picture that Waagen entitled 'Catherine de Medici'! In all these, note the careful drawing of the beautiful hands—the hands of which the French Queen was so proud.

Rubens, we know, painted at this time two portraits of the DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM. One of these is now in the Pitti; the other may perhaps be identified with the equestrian portrait belonging to the Earl of Jersey. Lord Jersey has also an APOTHEOSIS of the Duke that was found in the artist's studio at his death. The brilliant sketch in the National Gallery, there entitled, I know not on what grounds, the 'Apotheosis of William of Orange,' would appear to be the design for the last work.

Of this group of portraits it may be said that few are of any superlative merit as works of art, and as historical records they are inferior in interest to the chalk drawings of the same great people to be found in the Louvre and the Albertina.

But the gigantic task of carrying out the Luxembourg series by no means occupied the whole of Rubens's time. The years from 1622 to 1628 witnessed the culmination of the central period of the master's artistic career. The close of this period saw the production of some of his most magnificent works. Now it is in these works—such pictures,

I mean, as the Antwerp 'Adoration,' or Lord Darnley's 'Thomyris'—that M. Rooses would find the starting-point of the final style of Rubens. To me, however, these pictures—both technically and in inspiration—seem but the glorious consummation of the methods and aims that had long dominated his brush. The real change came at a later date, after the Spanish journey and the renewed study of Titian and the other Venetians. From that time forth, but not till then, Rubens was able to give expression in his completed pictures to that unity of conception, at times to that dynamic force, that before this was only to be found in his hastily executed sketches.

Quite a number of large altar-pieces belong to this time (1625-1628). I will mention two that are little known. In the 'DECAPITATION OF ST. CATHERINE' that he painted for the church at Lille, dedicated to that saint, Rubens centred the interest on the bending figure in crimson robe preparing for the stroke of the executioner. There is a haunting charm in the figure—we have discovered something of the sort already in the St. Francis at Antwerp—that we rarely find in the artist's work. A graceful study of the saint, a drawing of unusual refinement, may be found in the Albertina. The 'ST. ROCH INTERCEDING FOR THE PLAGUE-STRICKEN,' in the cathedral at Alost, is a more rhetorical work. As usual with Rubens, it is to the figures in the foreground—in this case the writhing victims of the plague—that he confined his own brush; the heavenly vision above has been left to be mainly carried out by an assistant.

There is a long story connected with the picture—the 'CONVERSION OF ST. BAVON'—that was painted for the cathedral at Ghent. The sketch or preliminary picture that Rubens made as far back as 1612 is now in the National Gallery. But it was not till twelve years later, and for another bishop, that Rubens completed the triptych (the sketch combined the three subjects) now in the cathedral. Rubens declares in a letter to the Archduke, complaining of the delays, that the work was the finest he had ever conceived and the most beautiful ever executed in the country! The composition is indeed most accomplished—it is dominated by a band of light that takes a winding course through the picture—but the work is now a wreck. Rubens has here been at pains to present some of the figures in mediæval costumes (cf. p. 121); the *hennins* on the heads of the female onlookers to the left should be noticed.

The 'MIRACLE OF ST. FRANÇOIS DE PAUL' is only known to us by sketches; there are quite a number of these, some of great vigour—at

Vienna (2), at Munich, at Dresden, and one in England belonging to Mr. Charles Morrison. The figure of the saint floating in the air seems to have been inspired by a well-known work of Tintoretto.

The date of the 'EDUCATION OF THE VIRGIN,' now in the gallery at Antwerp, is, if we are to regard the figure of the Virgin as painted from the young Helen Fourment, fixed to about the year 1625, when the future bride of Rubens would have been eleven years old. 'La plus charmante fantaisie décorative qu'on peut voir,' says Fromentin. It is a harmony of silvery greys, conceived almost in a *rococo* spirit. What more delightful bit of painting could be found than the grey-blue dress of the Virgin—the tints pass into the blue-grey sky and are accentuated by the rosy hues of the flesh and of the flowers behind. There are passages in the background that seem to be an anticipation of Boucher, perhaps I should rather say of Fragonard at his best, and it is something of a shock to find that M. Rooses sees the hand of the dull and mechanical van Thulden in these parts (van Thulden was, by the way, only nineteen when this picture was painted). Rubens had certainly at this time some pupil or assistant who excelled in the rendering of vaporous effects with delicate rosy tints; we see his hand in some of the Olympic visions of the Luxembourg canvases, and again in the figure of the Madonna and of the surrounding angels in more than one large 'Assumption'; a weak and somewhat effeminate painter perhaps, but one with a feeling for grace and for delicate colour harmonies. With regard to the 'Education' picture, there is an old tradition that in the St. Anne we have a likeness of the painter's mother, and that the features of the St. Joseph are those of his father!

I have spoken in the first part of this work of the connection of Rubens with the Abbey of St. Michel, where both his mother and brother lay buried. It was only natural that he should put his best work into the great 'ADORATION OF THE KINGS' (now in the Gallery at Antwerp) that he painted about 1625 for the high altar of the Abbey Church; but, as I have said already, I cannot see in this ambitious work 'the inauguration of his third and last period.' Fromentin, comparing it with earlier renderings of the same subject, finds that it is 'd'une audace plus grande, d'une carrure, d'une ampleur, d'une certitude, et d'un aplomb que le peintre a rarement dépassé.' But in spite of all this the work is made up of detached fragments, each magnificent in its way. We have the portly Turk (who turns up again at

Cassel, this time as a full-length portrait[1]) and the St. Jerome-like Mage to the left—both old friends; even the camels we have seen before in the retinue of the patriarch Jacob. Only the life-sized head of the ox, that so strangely fills up a gap in the lower corner, is new. As in earlier versions of the subject, the 'Twelfth Night' spirit still reigns supreme. It should be noted that this huge work is painted on panel. About two years later, in 1627,[2] Rubens painted 'The Kings' again, this time for a church in Brussels (the picture is now in the Louvre). The composition is here somewhat simplified, the brush is loosely handled, and the painting is in parts very Titianesque. Much use is, however, still made of masses of a powerful vermilion in the draperies. There was at Blenheim a version of 'The Kings' closely resembling in composition the Louvre canvas; this picture is now at Dublin, in the possession of Lord Ardilaun.

Rubens, as we have seen, painted his earliest version of the 'ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN' not later than 1619; the latest, now in the Liechtenstein Gallery, was turned out from the studio shortly before his death. There is, however, little difference in treatment between the first and last of the series. They are all large decorative 'machines' that take their place well upon the high altar of a church. I have already mentioned the 'Assumptions' that are now at Brussels, at Vienna, and at Düsseldorf. I need not dwell upon the 'gone-over' school-piece, commissioned by one of the Fugger family, that is still to be seen in the church at Augsburg for which it was executed.

The most famous of the ASSUMPTIONS of Rubens was painted in 1626 for the high altar of the cathedral at Antwerp where it now hangs. It replaced a 'Nativity' by Frans Floris. As on other similar occasions, Rubens completed the picture on the spot; for several months he and his assistants alone had access to the choir, the services being conducted in a side chapel. Rubens received for this important work 1500 florins; he claimed in addition 45 florins for an ounce of ultramarine that had been consumed during the execution—the colour may be recognised in the Virgin's robe and on that of one of the apostles. This is, no doubt, the most successful of the master's 'Assumptions,' rich, I might almost say gay, in colour, and full of animation.

I must pass rapidly over a few other pictures that Rubens painted

[1] This has lately been recognised as the portrait of a Flemish merchant at Venice who traded with the Levant. It was perhaps through him that Rubens got his knowledge of Oriental costume.

[2] Hardly before 1629, says M. H. Hymans. See *Gaz. des Beaux Arts*, 1903.

for various churches about this time (1622-1628). The large 'AWAKENING OF LAZARUS' was sold by a French nobleman to the King of Prussia in the eighteenth century; it is now in the Berlin gallery. This carefully composed picture M. Rooses considers to be wholly the work of Rubens; others have found in it traces of the brush of Vandyke; in that case it must be earlier than the date (1624) usually assigned to it. Rubens's rhetorical treatment of religious subjects here takes a sentimental turn which is fortunately rare with the master.

Very different in handling is the 'DEPARTURE OF LOT FROM SODOM,' now in the Louvre. In the happy flow of line of this charming composition, rapidly carried out in tints of red, amber, and olive-green, we have indeed a foretaste of Rubens's later style. It was painted for the French King at the time of the master's moment of triumph on the completion of the Luxembourg pictures. As if satisfied with the work, he signed and dated it—'Pe Pa Rubens Fe A° 1625' may be read on the column to the left. The little dog that trots along in front of Lot's daughter may indeed be regarded as a second signature.

In 1628 the Augustinian confraternity (the Fathers of the Observance) ordered three pictures for their new church at Antwerp. They selected the most prominent painters of the day. Vandyke and Jordaens received each 600 florins for the works commissioned of them. But for the third picture the fathers were fain to pay to Rubens as much as 3000 florins. This is the elaborate composition, generally known as the 'MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE,' which remains still in its original position in the church of St. Augustine. It is a work that well deserves the praise given it by Reynolds[1]—it was probably, when he saw it, in a better condition than it is now. The position of the Madonna seated high up on a lofty pedestal was doubtless suggested by the arrangement in more than one picture by Titian. The passages of brilliant lighting pass in a sweeping curve right through the picture. There is a 'swing' and an impression of exuberant joy in this masterly work that place it on a level with the masterpieces of Rubens's later day. There are smaller versions at Madrid and Berlin, and numerous so-called sketches, not all by the master, turn up from time to time.

Scarcely had Rubens finished his work for the Luxembourg palace when he received from the Infanta an important commission. He was

[1] It is the 'eloquence of the artist,' he declares, that gives the interest to the picture. 'The whole subject appears as much animated and in motion as it is possible for a picture to be where nothing is doing.'—*Voyage to Flanders.*

to furnish designs for a series of tapestries to be executed at Brussels. The archduchess since the death of her husband had adopted the dress of a nun (so she appears in a portrait by Rubens now at Devonshire House). Her thoughts turned back to the Convent of the Descalzas Reales at Madrid, where she had passed some time before her marriage, and to the nuns of her old home she now presented this splendid suite of tapestry, and here indeed it is still preserved. As many as thirteen large canvases were executed in Rubens's studio; five of these celebrated the TRIUMPHS OF THE EUCHARIST OR HOLY SACRAMENT; there were four subjects from the Old Testament symbolical of the mystery; the remaining four represented in groups of two the confessors and defenders of the Eucharist. The majority of these pictures found their way at a later date to the convent of Loeches (not far from Madrid), others probably perished by fire in Brussels. The two that are now in the Louvre are part of the pillage brought from Spain by General Sebastiani. Four others came at the time into the hands of the Danish agent at Madrid, and after many adventures passed to the Marquis of Westminster; these are the four large canvases now at Grosvenor House. The Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge possesses seven sketches in *grisaille*, the first thoughts for the compositions. In the Prado are eight larger sketches, carried out in colour to a considerable degree of finish. In this series of the Holy Sacrament the architectural framework plays an important part in the composition; Rubens's favourite torque and belted columns support a heavy architrave, below are sphinxes and classical mouldings. Broadly, almost rudely painted, a brilliant effect is obtained in spite of a sparing use of primitive colours; an amber-yellow is the prevailing tone heightened by patches of red. Nowhere is the theatrical, decorative side of Rubens's art better exemplified than in these huge canvases. Perhaps no other works of Rubens meet with less favour from those who are unable to enter into the rhetorical spirit of the seventeenth century.

At this time Rubens undertook but few mythological subjects, and of these only one or two are worthy of special reference. In the small 'JUDGMENT OF PARIS' at Dresden little more than the design can be from the master's hand; it is of interest only as being an early version of the vastly superior picture in our National Gallery. The large 'CIMON AND IFIGENIA' now in Vienna—the subject is taken from one of Boccaccio's tales—was painted in 1625 for the Duke of Buckingham. Wildens and Snyders had a large share in this artificially composed work, so poor in colour. In the little sleeping boy whose head appears

above the fountain to the left we may perhaps recognise the seven-year-old Nicholas.

Among the pictures by Rubens sold at Antwerp by the heirs of the Duke of Buckingham was 'a naked woman and a hermit.' This we may doubtless identify with the 'SLEEPING ANGELICA' (from *Orlando Furioso*) of the Vienna Hofmuseum,[1] a work that may be well classed with the 'Boreas and Oreithyia' in the Academy of the same town (p. 113); they are both superlative examples of the brilliant flesh-painting and the subtle modelling of the master, in the one case at the earlier, in the other at the latter part of his middle period. In the 'Angelica' the flesh-tints are set off by the crimson carpet upon which the heroine reposes.

The 'THREE NYMPHS WITH THE HORN OF PLENTY' (in the Prado) was bought by Philip IV. from the *succession*. Here again Snyders had a large share in the painting of the fruit and the birds. At Dulwich is a sketch of the figures alone by the hand of Rubens. The picture at Brussels that is now known as 'VENUS AT THE FORGE OF VULCAN' (about 1622) has had a strange history. The part with Vulcan is a later addition painted to replace the left-hand half of the panel that had at some previous time been sawn off; the part detached is now at Dresden, where it is known as the 'OLD WOMAN WITH THE BRAZIER'; this we discover from more than one old copy made before the panel was divided. Here we have Rubens in a humorous vein, experimenting in the style of his contemporaries; the one half of the original panel is reminiscent of Jordaens, the other with the effect of artificial light, of his Dutch contemporary Honthorst, whom (it would seem, however, at a later date) he visited at Utrecht (see p. 52).[2]

Of the many examples of the 'CARITAS ROMANA' (Cimon and Perus), the most important perhaps is the one that has passed from Blenheim to the gallery of the late Consul Weber at Hamburg. There are other versions at Wimpole (Lord Hardwicke), at Amsterdam, and in the Hermitage (this last an earlier work). The head of the old man closely resembles that of the 'Drunken Lot' in the early picture which was also in the Marlborough collection.

Perhaps the finest example of Rubens's genius that we have left in our English private collections is the 'THOMYRIS AND CYRUS' of Lord Darnley. This picture has many points of resemblance with the great

[1] *Herr Rosenberg is surely wrong in placing this picture as late as 1635.*

[2] Two other pictures in which artificial light plays an important part may very possibly belong to this time: these are the 'Judith' and the 'Samson' which are described in the next chapter.

'Adoration' at Antwerp. As I have said, I should regard both these works as representing the culminating point of Rubens's middle period rather than as introducing his final manner. There is no unity in the picture; its merits depend upon the superlative painting of individual figures. Notice especially the man in Polish costume and a Turk beside him. Rubens at a later date painted another version of the subject, now in the Louvre; the composition is here more concentrated, but the figures have lost the vigour of the earlier work. M. Rooses will have it that there is an interval of ten years between the two works (*circa* 1623 and 1633); I should, however, be inclined to place them nearer together (say 1626 and 1630).

I have now to consider a few of the portraits that Rubens painted in the years preceding the Spanish journey. Apart from the 'Chapeau de Paille,' which I will reserve until I come to speak of the relations of the artist to the Fourment family, by far the most interesting of these is the 'ALBERT AND NICHOLAS' of the Liechtenstein Gallery, which Rubens painted about 1626, when his sons were twelve and eight years old respectively—a delightful picture, highly finished and in good condition. The gay dress of the younger boy, whose roguish face is so well known to us, is relieved against the sober, black costume of the elder.

There is evidence that Rubens between 1625 and 1628 painted several portraits of his friend the great general SPINOLA. The best known is that now in the gallery at Brunswick, but even finer is the head, perhaps the study from life for the last, that M. Durand-Ruel lately acquired from an English collection. Both these date from the time when the great general passed through Antwerp, after the capture of Breda; we have here the Spinola of 'Las Lanzas.' That in the Nostitz collection at Prague differs somewhat in the arrangement of the armour—it is probably a little later in date; there is a fourth portrait in the Leuchtenberg Gallery at St. Petersburg.

There are several fine male portraits that belong to this time, for the most part downright, solidly painted works—but nothing more. Witness the unknown man with *chagrin* expression in the Brunswick Gallery, another of a younger man with black mantle folded round his waist at Antwerp, and several finished studies of heads at Vienna. There is more refinement in the portrait of his friend, the town-secretary Gevartius, to whom Rubens entrusted the interests of his children during his long absence in Spain and Eng-

land. Gevartius, pen in hand, is seated at his work-table, on which stands a bust of Marcus Aurelius; we are here reminded of an early group of portraits in which Seneca takes the place of the Roman emperor (see pp. 19 and 92) (at Antwerp).

When in the year 1628 Rubens set out for Madrid, he took with him a number of canvases; others were forwarded later from the great studio. Pacheco, the contemporary historian of Spanish art, gives a list of eight of these pictures; only two, however, can now be discovered in the Prado gallery: the 'ACHILLES AND THE DAUGHTERS OF LYCOMEDES' is a work in which Vandyke had had a large share; it is one of those that had been rejected by Carleton in 1618 (see above, pp. 40 and 131); the other is the 'CERES AND PAN,' a pleasing picture with abundant fruit and foliage, much of it painted by Wildens. The 'Reconciliation of Jacob and Esau' also figures on Pacheco's list, and this is probably the large canvas now in Munich (p. 132). The other pictures doubtless perished in the fire at the Palace in 1734.

Nor, as far as one can judge, were the original pictures that Rubens painted during his stay in Madrid—they were chiefly royal portraits destined for his gracious mistress the Infanta—works of any great importance. Rubens relates that the king came to see him nearly every day. He found much pleasure in the conversation of the well-informed and courteous Fleming—it was a relaxation, no doubt, from the weary round of duties and ceremonies, devotional and political, that occupied so much of Philip's time.

The large EQUESTRIAN PORTRAIT OF THE KING, with allegorical figures, mentioned by Pacheco as a work of commanding merit, has disappeared. As for the many half-length portraits of PHILIP IV.—there are several in English collections—they may all, says M. Rooses, be traced back to that now in the Pinakothek, which is to be regarded as representing the official type. This is 'a very literal rendering of a very plain face,' but it is the face that we know from the many masterpieces of Velazquez, and this fact alone makes us look at Rubens's version with some interest. There are other portraits of the king in which he wears a hat; one of these is mentioned in the *succession*. So of the queen ELIZABETH OF FRANCE; the half-length at Munich may be regarded as the type; there is a replica at Vienna which is undoubtedly by the hand of Rubens. At Munich, too, is the young CARDINAL INFANT whom Rubens painted so often a few years later when, as the Archduke Ferdinand, he made his triumphant

entry into Antwerp. In the earlier portrait the red robe and cap provided a setting after the artist's heart, and he seems to have taken some interest in the pale and rather nervous face of the young prince. The other royal portraits that Rubens painted at the time cannot now be traced.

But of greater importance to us is the artistic work of another kind that Rubens found time to carry out while in Madrid. It would seem that he must have devoted every spare moment to making copies —renderings, in the case of Rubens, we may better call them—of the magnificent canvases by the great Venetian masters, of the Titians above all, that were then in the royal palace. Rubens was at the time a man of over fifty; it was not from yesterday that he had taken his place as the most famous painter in Europe. But now he was ready to go to school again, and to throw himself with youthful energy into the task of absorbing the very spirit of Titian. There were probably as many as seventy pictures by the Venetian master at that time in the Royal Palace—many of these have since perished by fire. Pacheco affirms that Rubens *copied them all.* There is no doubt some exaggeration in this. Among the pictures copied, the 'Europa,' the 'Venus and Adonis,' and the 'Two Baths' (of Diana?), as well as several portraits, are mentioned by name. Now, if we turn to the inventory of the property found in his house at his death, we find among the 'pictures made by the late Mr. Rubens in Spain, Italy, and elsewhere, after both Titian and other great masters,' a 'Callisto,' an 'Actaeon,' a 'Venus and Adonis,' an 'Adam and Eve,' an 'Europa,' 'Venus looking in a glass with Cupid,' and in addition a long list of portraits including Cardinal Ippolito Medici, Charles v. and his wife Eleonora 'on one canvas,' Philip II. on foot, and many others —thirty-two pictures in all. Some of these so-called copies, the 'Isabella d'Este,' for example, and the 'Venus with the Looking-glass' (if this is to be identified with the picture now at Vienna), are works of an earlier time—the latter indeed, if founded upon, is no copy from, Titian. Of the early copies of the 'Bacchanal' and of the 'Sacrifice to Venus,' I have already spoken—these are pictures that have followed the fortunes of Bernadotte, and have passed to Stockholm. Of the long list given in the inventory, only two, I think, can now be discovered in the Prado, the 'Adam and Eve' and the 'Europa,' and these, magnificent works as they are, are very free renderings of the Venetian master.

I have dwelt at comparative length on the obsession of Rubens

at this time by the works of Titian, for I think that this obsession had a considerable influence upon the later style of the Fleming. If we find him after this period abandoning the somewhat crude devices by means of which he had been wont to give richness to the colouring of his pictures—the patches of vermilion or crimson, for example, and the broad expanses of amber-coloured robes—and adopting henceforth a more fused handling, bringing his masses of flesh into closer relation with the rest of the picture, it is in the first place to this intimate intercourse with the works, especially the later works, of the Venetian master, that we must attribute the change. Other important advances there were during the last ten years of the great artist's career, due to causes of a more intimate and obscure nature—to physiological changes in the organism of the artist, I might say; but to use such language is after all but to evade the difficulty and to acknowledge the imperfection of our analysis.

The nine months (1629-1630) that Rubens passed in England, following as they did on this renewed study of the Venetians, came, then, at a critical period in his artistic development, and it is disappointing to find how little he produced at this time. There is no record of any copies made from the great masters. Rubens indeed mentions in a letter to Dupuy (August 5, 1629) 'the incredible number of excellent pictures, statues, and antique inscriptions preserved by the Court.' His attention at the time appears to have been especially concentrated on the marbles.

The most important picture that Rubens painted while in London is no doubt the elaborate allegory in which the blessings of peace, the peace that it was the object of his mission to bring about, are contrasted with the horrors of war. It was to clinch his argument, so to speak, that this picture was presented to Charles I. After many wanderings this fine work, now so much darkened, found its way back to England; it was presented to the National Gallery by the Marquis of Stafford as long ago as 1828. This is a work painted distinctly under Venetian influence, and we have in it one of the earliest examples of Rubens's final manner. The picture was doubtless painted in the studio of Sir Balthazar Gerbier, and it is of interest to find in it likenesses of more than one member of his host's family. We have in England a couple of pictures in which the Gerbier family is grouped. Of these, that at Windsor is the best known; the other and perhaps finer version, that has passed from Lord Radnor to Mrs. Culling-Hanbury (O.M. 1902, as 'the Family of the Duke of Buckingham'), is

apparently the work engraved by MacArdell.[1] The little girl to the right in the 'Peace and War' may be recognised in both these portrait groups; she appears again in a pleasing head of a girl at Althorp. Lady Gerbier herself probably sat for the figure of Peace. Again, in the 'VENUS AND CUPID' at Dulwich, the upper part of the principal figure is nearly identical with this same figure of Peace, so that this Titianesque work may well be classed in the same group. Finally, I may mention that there is another version of the 'Peace and War' at Munich, but this is a very inferior production with little in it by the hand of Rubens.

The 'ST. GEORGE' at Buckingham Palace is essentially a landscape, and belongs to the same class as the little 'Park Scene' at Vienna. It is distinctly a work of the final period, loosely painted and 'picturesque' in conception. Charles I., for whom the picture was executed, takes his place as St. George; the princess he has rescued is represented by the Queen. Horace Walpole is responsible for the identification of the scene with the banks of the Thames at Richmond.

The *grisaille* sketch in the National Gallery representing the 'BIRTH OF VENUS' surrounded by a border of sea-nymphs and dolphins, is a design by the hand of Rubens for a salver, which a few years later (together with a ewer with the 'Judgment of Paris') was carried out for Charles I. by Theodor Rogiers, a famous silversmith of Antwerp, and a friend of our master.

It is uncertain how far we can associate the designing of the CEILING OF THE BANQUETING HOUSE at Whitehall with the presence of Rubens in London. The sketches, however, were probably made at this time or a little later. There is indeed an interval of fourteen years (1621-1635) between the first commissioning and the final delivery of this series. The work itself was certainly not carried out earlier than 1634. Even then the canvases remained rolled up for some time, and it was not until October 1635 that Rubens sent them off from Dunkirk in the charge of one of his pupils—it was on the ground of the gout that he excused his own presence again in London. The honorarium, £3000, was not all paid till 1638; but with the final instalment the artist received from Charles a chain of gold weighing nearly seven pounds. There is no need to say anything of the ceiling itself—often and often repainted, the hand of Rubens is now scarcely

[1] M. Rooses accepts this as a work by Rubens's hand. The Windsor picture was bought in Holland for the Prince Regent as a Vandyke. This canvas has been enlarged (perhaps twice) at later dates. Whether even in the central original group the brush of the master can be recognised remains in dispute. It would be very interesting to confront the two pictures.

recognisable.[1] The sketches, on the other hand, are of considerable interest; in these the design is rapidly executed on the panel by a brush-drawn outline in sepia, a little colour is then rubbed in here and there. The manner of work should be compared with that employed for the sketches made many years earlier for the ceiling of the Jesuit church at Antwerp (p. 134). Rubens simply rioted in the daring problems of perspective that he here set himself. The subject is the 'Happy Reign and Apotheosis of James I.' and the poor old king takes the place of Solomon or of a Hebrew prophet amid torque columns and impossible architecture, or again floats up to heaven feet forward, borne on the back of Jove's eagle. One of the finest of these sketches is in the Academy at Vienna, two are in the Hermitage (ex Walpole collection), and others may be found at Brussels, Antwerp, Paris, at Richmond in the Cook Gallery, and in other private collections in England. A good idea of their style may be formed from the little 'Apotheosis' (of Buckingham or another) in the National Gallery.

How important a bearing the political relations of Rubens had upon his work as a painter is well exemplified by the history of the never-completed series that was to illustrate the LIFE OF HENRI IV. and to form the complement, in the other wing of the Luxembourg Palace, to the Medici canvases. I may well end this chapter, that opened with the triumph of the earlier series, with some explanation of the breakdown of this supplemental commission.

It was soon after the completion, in 1625, of the earlier work that Richelieu made his final and decisive bid for power. His policy was strongly anti-Spanish; Rubens meantime had more and more identified himself with the Spanish court. The unhappy Queen-Dowager had now to bow before the great Cardinal. But Rubens, although he met with little encouragement from the all-powerful minister, was himself eager to carry through the great work, recognising the artistic capabilities of the subject, and at the time when, in 1628, he was summoned to Madrid, he was well advanced in his designs. It was probably at this juncture that Richelieu proposed to transfer the commission to Le

[1] This is a statement that in view of the recent restoration requires some modification. The canvases have been stretched and provided with a suitable backing so that the quilt-like sagging no longer interferes with the effect. The ceiling had been previously restored by Kent in the reign of George II.; by Cipriani in 1785; as well as twice during the nineteenth century. Although the canvases are still too dark in relation to the elaborate gilt framing, there is an opulent and truly Rubens-like effect in the ceiling as a whole. It may be noted that the central oval piece measures 32 ft. by 21 ft. It thus surpasses in size the largest of the Medici canvases (January 1908).

Josepin (otherwise the Cavaliere D'Arpino)—but it was soon recognised that he was too old for such an undertaking. The Queen in despair attempted to enter into relations with Guido; the name of Guercino was also mentioned. But nothing came of all this, and on his return from England early in 1630, Rubens again took up the task and was at once busy scheming the arrangement of the twenty-four pictures that were to illustrate the life of Henri IV. In the inventory of the *succession* there is mention of six large unfinished canvases belonging to this series; only two of them can now be traced; these are the huge pictures—they are 22 feet in length—long in the Niobe room at the Uffizi; one—'THE BATTLE OF IVRY'—is a *mêlée* of cavalry loosely sketched in; the other—'THE ENTRY OF HENRY IV. INTO PARIS'—is carried somewhat further. Both subjects are treated in a classical spirit; in the latter work may be found some reminiscences of the 'Triumphs' of Mantegna (cf. p. 94). As bearing on the manner of execution of such large canvases, it is of interest to discover that the hand of the master is in evidence throughout both these unfinished pictures.[1] There are numerous small sketches on panel for these and other subjects of the series; in England, there are three at Hertford House and one at Cobham; of those in continental galleries the most important are the vigorous 'TAKING OF PARIS' at Berlin, and the two curious designs in the Liechtenstein Gallery.

But already in 1631 Marie de Médicis was a prisoner at Compiègne, and the great Cardinal ruled all with an iron hand. After this there was no question of any dealings with a painter who had all through identified himself with the Spanish party at the French Court, and now openly sympathised with the fugitive Queen (cf. Rubens's letter to Olivares, p. 57).

Before proceeding to describe the work of the last and most glorious period of the artistic career of Rubens, I will turn aside for a moment to consider the renderings that he made, at various periods of his life, of his own features. There will be some convenience in removing these from their true chronological position, and placing them as it were side by side.

Of the portraits that Rubens painted of himself, the earliest that is known to us is that of the honey-suckle bower, where he appears with his young bride (see p. 97). Not much later, perhaps, is the hatless

[1] The same remark applies to the still more unfinished 'CAPTURE OF TUNIS BY CHARLES V.,' at Berlin.

portrait in the Uffizi (1602 according to Rosenberg, while Rooses gives it to the year 1628—let the reader note the discrepancy!), a replica of which has been 'painted into' the Lipsius group of the Pitti (p. 91). But it is in the Windsor portrait of 1623 that all subsequent generations have agreed to find the typical representation of the man. This portrait was painted at the urgent request of Lord Danvers, and it was destined for the gallery of the Prince of Wales. Writing to Valavès (June 1625) Rubens says:—'Le prince de Galles est le prince le plus amateur de peinture qui soit au monde . . . Il m'a demandé . . . avec telle instance mon pourtraict qu'il n'y eut aucun moyen de le pouvoir refuzer, encore qu'il ne me semblait convenable d'envoyer mon pourtraict à un prince de telle qualité, mais il força ma modestie.' The version of this portrait now in the Uffizi is equally fine; it is probably of the same date or even earlier; the replica or rather copy, now at Aix, was sent by Rubens to his friend Peiresc in 1628. Its world-wide fame the Windsor portrait owes above all to the fine engraving of Pontius. In the later impressions of this engraving, the severe and even bitter expression noticeable in the rare early states (traces of which may indeed be seen in the Windsor portrait itself) has been replaced by the suave and self-possessed air that has come to be indelibly associated with the artist. This famous engraving is dated 1630, and it is evident that a version of the portrait, or at least some careful drawings, must have been preserved at Antwerp.

Much weaker, but more genial in expression, is the portrait now in the Arenberg collection. We may perhaps regard it as a study for the figure in the 'Morning Walk'; this would place it about the year 1631. With the Arenberg portrait we may again connect a fine drawing in the Albertina.

Few portraits surpass in psychological interest that which Rubens painted of himself a few years before his death. It is now at Vienna; the photograph should be carefully compared with that of the Windsor portrait. There is little colour in this picture; the hair, scanty on the face, is still of a brownish tint; but physical suffering, mental anxiety, constant pressure of work, perhaps over-indulgence in more than one direction, have left their mark on the pinched features. Notice above all the shape of the nose, now thin and pointed. In the Louvre is a chalk sketch for this late portrait, essentially a study of drapery.

CHAPTER XIII

Portraits of the Fourment Family—Susanna—Helen—The Final Triumph of Rubens's Art—The Kermesse—The Later Martyrdoms—Designs for the 'Happy Entry'—Later Portraits—Later Mythological Pieces.

THE most important event in the life of Rubens after his return to Antwerp in the spring of 1630 was doubtless his marriage in the following December to Helen Fourment. Twelve years earlier, when Helen was a child of four, he had painted her eldest sister CLARA, already the wife of PETER VAN HECKE; the husband he painted at the same time, and both these fine portraits belong now to Baron Edmond de Rothschild (see above p. 128). But it was the third daughter of Daniel Fourment, the rabbit-eyed Susanna (see p. 61) who had most frequently sat to Rubens—as many as seven portraits of her are catalogued in the inventory of the *succession*. Her quaint features may often be recognised in the pictures of Rubens's middle period, just as at an earlier time we find those of Isabella Brant, and during the last ten years of his life those of Helen. Susanna was born in 1599; she was married for the first time in 1617, and since 1622 she had been the wife of Arnold Lunden. M. Rooses repudiates the old story that Susanna was the mistress of Rubens (she is so entitled on an old engraving), and will have it that she was a woman of some culture in whose society the artist found much intellectual pleasure. 'Elle était sa bien-aimée, héroïne d'un petit roman vécu par Rubens en tout bien, toute honneur.' Her face is well known to us from the 'CHAPEAU DE PAILLE,'[1] in the National Gallery. This masterly piece of work, carefully and elaborately carried out, but fresh and brilliant as a sketch, was probably painted shortly before her second marriage. The powerful drawing of Susanna in red chalk in the Albertina may have been made somewhat later; in this the large eyes, placed wide apart beneath a preternaturally tall arched forehead, are even more marked than in the National Gallery picture. The portrait of Susanna in the Louvre is probably of about the same time as this drawing. Rubens was then

[1] The hat, of course, is not of straw but of felt. The original title was perhaps 'Chapeau d'Espagne' and the Flemish word *Spaansch* (Spanish) was confused with *Spanen* (straw).

occupied with the Medici canvases, and in these Susanna's face may perhaps here and there be recognised (see especially the left-hand nymph in the 'Education of the Queen'). Of quite a different character is the full-length portrait of Susanna now in the Hermitage; if we give five years to the archly smiling little girl who stands by her mother's side, this must have been painted in 1630, for her daughter Catherine was born in 1625. This picture has sometimes been attributed to Vandyke; it certainly does not fit in well with the other work of Rubens at this period—indeed, the costume seems to point to an earlier date.[1]

To give a list of all the pictures in which the features of Helen Fourment may be recognised would be almost equivalent to making a catalogue of the work produced by Rubens during the last ten years of his life. We may pass from the definite portrait on the one hand, to an allegorical or mythological composition on the other, or again to a garden scene or a landscape, but it is seldom that the well-known figure is not to be recognised. What is to be noted is that with the year of his marriage begins what, for my part, I regard as the greatest and most significant part of Rubens's career. When one calls to mind one of the master's earlier works what one pictures is the beauty or the bravura painting of a passage here and there; but in the case of the great canvases of the latest period the whole scene presents itself to the mind's eye, so subtly and intimately are the lines and hues woven, so subject is every detail to the total vision of the artist.[2] In spite of increasing infirmities, this wonderful man, all his political ambitions thrown aside, was now about to enter a final period of production, and to turn out works on the basis of which we are for the first time justified in finding him a place beside his younger contemporaries Rembrandt and Velazquez, as one of the three great artists of the seventeenth century. I do not think that in his marriage to a young and beautiful wife, any more than in the renewed study of the great Venetians, of which I have already spoken, a satisfactory and complete explanation is to be found for this late flaring up of genius.

[1] Apart from her ruff, Susanna here wears the same dress as the Isabella Brant of about 1623, also in the Hermitage. Not only that, but an identical triple chain hangs from the neck in both portraits. I must confess that I do not understand the relation of Susanna to Rubens. On the drawing of her in the Albertina, a contemporary hand has written 'Suster van Herr Rubbens.' Again, in an inventory of the possessions of the Lunden family, made before 1650, three portraits, undoubtedly of the same lady, are entered as 'Susanna Rubens.'

[2] This unity we may indeed often find in the *oil sketches* of the earlier period. It is perhaps significant that these sketches are for the most part wanting in the case of the later pictures.

These were no doubt elements that had a bearing on the change, but, as I have more than once hinted, there were other more subtle influences at work, psychological perhaps or even physiological in nature, that obstinately defy our powers of analysis. The marriage, the Venetian studies, these may have been elements that gave to some deeply rooted stimulus a direction along a favourable path. But whence that stimulus had its origin—from what subliminal depths where it had so long lain dormant or had only imperfectly found means of directing the hand of the artist—that is a question that I do not think can be answered by any theory of the artistic *milieu*, any more than the nature of the stimulus itself can be explained by an analysis of the mental or physical equipment of the artist himself. The full expression of Rubens's genius had no doubt long been, to some degree, hampered by his subjugation to what may be called the shibboleths of the day, by his acceptance of the conventions of the seventeenth-century antiquaries and theologians. But there is no evidence that Rubens had, at the period we have now reached, to any great extent shaken himself free from these shackles—his love of allegory and a certain rhetorical spirit continued, it would seem, to the end. No doubt as time went on the hand answered more readily to the direction that proceeded from the brain, or shall I say from some deeply seated consciousness hardly recognised by the artist himself. All this, of course, is no explanation. But what I want to accentuate is, that *we have no explanation* of such phenomena, and that in spite of much elaborate teaching to the contrary, the source and conditions of the inspiration of the superlatively great painter or poet or musician are as unknown to us as they were to the contemporaries of Homer or of Pheidias. To me the commanding interest of Rubens's artistic career is to be found, above all, in the clear evidence that it presents of this limitation of our knowledge.

Portraits of Helen Fourment. Of the many renderings of Helen, but few are treated as mere portraits: some are to be regarded as studies, in others she takes her place in a composition. In the full-length seated figure at Munich, she is decked out as a bride; a black outer robe is thrown open to show a skirt of white silk brocaded with gold; in her hands is a sprig of orange-blossom; the heavy gold chain that she wears had once belonged to Isabella Brant. She has thrown herself down on a chair, cheerful and contented, but glad of a moment's rest from the whirl of the festivities. For the head of this portrait Mr. Heseltine has a large careful study in black chalk, and this has served also for the bust of Helen now at Amsterdam. There is at

Windsor a portrait of a lady very similarly attired, but the features, I think, are not, as some have imagined, those of Helen.[1]

The girlish head of Helen, looking round with arch smile, slightly painted on panel (in the collection of the late Consul Weber at Hamburg) may very likely have been made before her marriage. In the half-length at Munich her smile is quite of another kind, and in keeping with the expression is the *bravura* execution of the portrait. Nowhere does Helen better succeed in assuming the self-possessed air of a *grande dame* than in the full-length at St. Petersburg; this fine work is painted with great refinement; the hands above all are worthy of notice.

Of Helen as a young mother we have two delightful renderings. At Munich we see her embracing her first-born Frans, who sits on her knee, hat on head, but otherwise nude. In this picture, slight in execution and painted *d'un coup*, a peculiar touch of the brush may be noted, to be found in one or two other works of this time—the dabs of paint are placed side by side, and the result is an effect of great brilliancy. A little later, and perhaps even more beautiful, is the panel that for so long found a place of honour in the *Salon carré* of the Louvre. In this only the heads are finished; to that of Helen Rubens has given a concentrated expression of maternal regard rare with the painter—the children are bright and *espiègles*. The unfinished parts are swiftly drawn with a brush dipped in sepia and a few 'sweeps' of colour are added here and there. There is no reason to regret that this picture was never finished.

We now pass to the pictures where Helen takes her place in a more or less elaborated composition. At Blenheim were two superb works of this class; when the Marlborough collection was broken up they were sold together for £55,000, and are now in Paris in the possession of the Rothschild family. In the first, Helen leans on her husband's arm; in front, in leading strings which the mother holds, toddles the little lad, their first-born, his head encircled by a *bourrelet* (to preserve him from a broken crown should he fall); behind by a fountain a gorgeous parrot perches beside some gay flowers. Surely never was

[1] It may possibly represent her sister, Elizabeth Fourment, who, in 1627, was married to Nicolas Picquery. M. Rooses sees in it a likeness to Isabella Brant, and dates it as early as 1614 (*Vie de Rubens*, pp. 120-121)—the costume alone would surely make this impossible. The fact, he thinks, that it comes from the Lunden family, and has always passed as Rubens's first wife, makes any other attribution out of the question. But family traditions are notoriously inaccurate and the very fact that the picture passed with the 'Chapeau de Paille' (Susanna Fourment) to a member of the family of his *second* wife points distinctly the other way. There is a slight chalk drawing for this picture in the National Gallery (ex Peel collection). See also note, p. 187.

more happy and refined expression given to a well-worn theme than in this delicious rendering of conjugal felicity. Here, for the first time, we may note some signs of the ageing that overtook Rubens at this period, and it will be seen that, though himself a man of but medium stature, he is a full head taller than his young wife. In the other Blenheim picture Helen is represented, with black toque on head, passing out to her carriage. There is here evidence of increasing *embonpoint*, and if in the boy who follows her so demurely we are to recognise her eldest-born Frans, this portrait can hardly have been painted before 1639.

Of great interest to us is the 'MORNING WALK' in the Pinakothek, where we see the young mistress conducted by her husband through the grounds of his town house; behind walks her step-son Nicolas, now a lad of twelve or thirteen. Here we have what is doubtless an accurate rendering of Rubens's garden; to the left we see the pavilion that he had designed many years before, and which indeed stands unaltered at the present day. The general colour of the landscape is of an olive green, perhaps kept low in tone to give relief to the comparatively small figures. The animals in the foreground—a peacock, a turkey, and a swiftly racing dog—are rubbed in loosely but in a masterly way, unmistakably by Rubens himself.

I shall not attempt any strict chronological arrangement of the works of the last ten years; there is indeed little change of style, and from pictures like the last we may pass to the beautiful little PARK SCENE at Vienna, where we have a merry party romping in the grounds of the artist's new country home.[1] The figure to the left, leaning on a stick, has been identified with Rubens; the distance and the sky are thinly rubbed in with a charming gradation of colour. We have indeed in this slight but exquisite work a suggestion both of Watteau and of Turner.

Some of the figures in this little panel occur again in the picture, or series of pictures, known as the 'CONVERSATION À LA MODE,' the 'Garden of Love,' and by other names. Of the many versions of this conception only two can be regarded as by the hand of Rubens. The best probably is that painted on canvas, now in the Prado; this is no doubt the picture that hung in the bedroom of Philip IV. alongside of Holy Families by Raphael and other great masters. The other version, painted on panel, now belongs to Baron Edmond de Rothschild, and

[1] The *Château* here assumes a very mediaeval aspect, but the path in the foreground that winds round the back of the sheet of water may still be traced at Steen.

is probably the one that remained in the possession of Rubens's widow; in this the figures are smaller. There are not a few old copies of both these versions—no work of Rubens has been more popular. Quite a number of chalk studies for the various figures, many highly elaborated and of great beauty, may be found in the various cabinets, above all in the Musée Fodor at Amsterdam. The elaborate sepia drawing in pen and wash of the whole composition that formerly belonged to Sir Charles Robinson was apparently made for the large woodcut, in two parts, engraved by Christoffel Jegher. We have in these pictures the starting-point of the *Conversations galantes* of Watteau and his school, but, in spite of the fluttering cupids, in Rubens's hands we are more in touch with reality. M. Rooses will indeed have it that in this gay assemblage the many brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law of the artist may be recognised: Helen is doubtless to be identified; her figure is perhaps repeated in more than one group. Are we to find in the 'Garden of Love' and in the 'Park Scene' an illustration of the manners of the *haute bourgeoisie* of the day?

I will now rapidly pass in review a few of the large mythological pieces, essentially studies of the nude, that Rubens painted at this time. In nearly all of them at least a reminiscence of Helen may be discovered; for many she must actually have stood as a model.

This series may well be introduced by the famous nude portrait that Rubens painted of his wife shortly after their marriage. In the will, 'HET PELSKEN'—so it was known at the time, from the robe of fur that indeed hides so little—was left to Helen by a special clause. M. Rooses gives no countenance to the story that the widow—she was indeed now the wife of a person of position—although she expressed her disapprobation of this picture and did not wish it to be seen, was at length by an increased offer induced to part with it. For us the work is of interest as a comparatively early example of the method of flesh-painting adopted henceforth by Rubens. The glazings of warm and cool tints on an enamel-like ground are now abandoned in favour of a more direct method of work. The pose and expression are original and striking; but for all that, the general composition is, it would seem, founded on a picture by Titian (like 'Het Pelsken' now in Vienna) of which we know that Rubens made a copy.

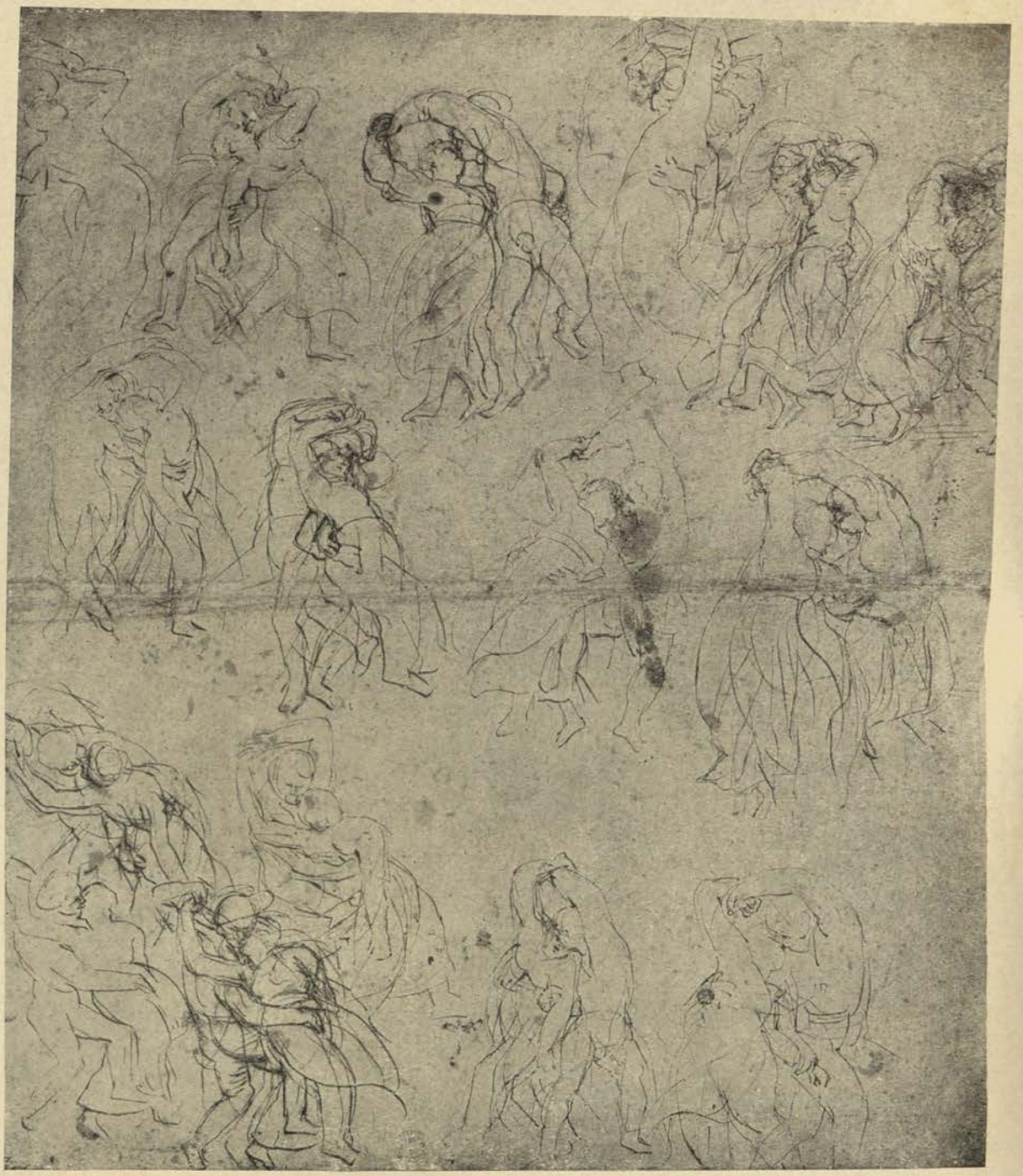
We may recognise the opulent figure of Helen in not a few pictures painted soon after 1630. These are as a group earlier than the series of mythological subjects painted for Philip's hunting-lodge. In these last indeed we shall find that another type of female beauty was, if not

dominant, at least competing in Rubens's brain. The 'BATHSHEBA' of the Dresden Gallery came from the *succession*. The 'SUSANNA' at Munich, so masterly in its brush-work, has suffered from the restorer's hands: M. Rooses claims to be the fortunate possessor of an even finer version of this work, and of this he gives a photogravure in his great life of the artist. The Berlin 'ANDROMEDA,' which came from Blenheim, is a splendid study of a nude figure. This picture was in the *succession*, and there can be little doubt that Helen in this case served as a model; it seems to be a little earlier than the 'Andromeda' in the Prado, which may indeed be in part founded on it. The background is rudely sketched in, and the wood-grain-like markings given by the rapid sweep of a big, well-loaded brush should be noted. The texture thus obtained was purposely aimed at by Rubens as a 'suggestive' ground on which to base his future work. The Madrid picture was commissioned by Philip as late as 1639; left unfinished at the death of Rubens, it is said to have been completed by Jordaens.

It is impossible not to recognise the features of Helen in the shepherdess of that extraordinary panel now in the Pinakothek, whose subject is well expressed by the familiar title, 'LE CROC EN JAMBE'; I can, however, see but little likeness to Rubens in the amorous shepherd. A more triumphant exposition of the artist's mastery in the wielding of the brush at this period it would be difficult to find; in the rich colour-scheme, obtained by what are apparently such simple means, we have the result of years of experience. This picture, again, comes from the *succession*; like the 'Pelsken,' it was painted for 'home consumption,' for the painter's own enjoyment. It is difficult now to enter into the spirit, the mental frame, that called forth such a work as this from a courtly, elderly gentleman who had settled down to a quiet family life as a country squire. And then Helen, the good housewife, the fond and careful mother, what had she to say? But it is not for us to find fault; it is to this 'healthy animalism' that we are indebted for some of the most superb and most characteristic of the master's works.

Rubens, indeed, during the years that followed his second marriage, seems to have been possessed at times by an orgiastic or corybantic fury, resulting in a few masterpieces where the rapid, rhythmic movements of the dance have found an expression unapproached by painter before or since. This expression, too, is given in a delightful vehicle; the brush-work, the very paint is in itself a source of enjoyment.

The 'SACRIFICE TO VENUS' now in the Hofmuseum belongs pro-



STUDY FOR THE FLEMISH KERMESSE

BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON

bably to this time.[1] In this gigantic sketch Rubens has returned to the famous picture by Titian that he had copied at Rome many years before. The colour-scheme is delicious; the figures are relieved against a pearly green landscape; there are passages of subdued crimson here and there, and a patch of Titianesque blue on the drapery of the woman offering the sacrifice takes us back to the palette of the Venetian master. But in quite another spirit is the group of fauns, satyrs, and nymphs—one of the latter certainly Helen—that we see to the left, threading the paces of a wild, not to say frantic, dance: a magnificent conception, painted straight off, *con amore*, but at the same time one that has little relation to the calm Venetian atmosphere of the rest of the picture.

It is indeed an easy transition from such a passage as this to what is one of the superlatively great works of the master—the 'KERMESSE' of the Louvre. Compared with the overflowing life of this picture, the dancing peasants of Teniers appear lifeless and mechanical. In the Print-Room of the British Museum, on both sides of a large sheet of paper, may be seen a series of rapid pen outlines, in which Rubens has attempted to seize the very spirit of the dance; over and over again he has jotted down the merest schematic lines of a dancing couple (the one under the tree in the centre of the 'Kermesse,' I think). This group of sketches is as a Rubens document a work of the greatest interest. On the same sheet are notes for the figures seated at the table: these are merely blocked out; indeed in the picture itself some of the figures are only indicated by a few strokes of the brush. As M. Rooses puts it, Rubens here turns from the loves of classic fauns and nymphs to celebrate the orgies of the peasant and the rustic Venus of Flanders. The quiet landscape background contrasts with the wild scene portrayed. Not the least interesting point about this picture is the fact that it was bought for the private collection of the *Roi Soleil.*

Only once again has Rubens given us a similar scene. The 'RONDO' or 'Dance of Italian Peasants' was bought by Philip IV., and is now in the Prado. Here the composition is more concentrated and studied, but nothing is lost by this; there is an irresistible impetus in the chain of swirling figures. There is a sketch for the 'Rondo' in the Academy at Vienna; in this little gem the green background is only indicated. The large work at Madrid is disfigured by some strange, coarse colour-

[1] The catalogue of the Museum, indeed, says that it was painted for the Duke of Buckingham, which would place it several years earlier. If this be so (but the identification, I think, rests on a misunderstanding), the group of dancing figures to the left must undoubtedly be a later addition.

ing; the patches of blue in the drapery are an unpleasant and unusual addition to Rubens's palette.

I propose now to pass rapidly in review the works that Rubens painted for churches during the last ten years of his career. This is a long series—I have notes of some twenty-five important pictures—and it is on the whole one of much less interest than the more or less domestic group that I have lately been considering. The first on my list, however, takes rank among the most complete and successful works of the master—the great altar-piece of ST. ILDEFONSO is one of the glories of the gallery at Vienna. This picture was commissioned, in 1630, by the Infanta for the Caudenberg church at Brussels, where the confraternity of St. Ildefonso had a chapel. The Archduke Albert had taken much interest in the confraternity, and his widow no doubt felt that she was carrying out his wishes in commemorating the miracle of the saint—a gift from the Virgin of a chasuble. There is an interesting oil sketch for this triptych at St. Petersburg, where the kneeling figures of the archdukes with their patron saints form an integral part of the composition. A surprisingly rich but rather hot effect is given to the finished work by the frame of crimson—curtains, cover of *prie-dieu*, etc.—in which the central group is set; there is also much golden yellow in the draperies. It is certainly strange that this picture, which has all the characteristics of Rubens's later work, should, before its history had been worked out, have been uniformly given to the earlier Antwerp period of the artist. In the same gallery may be seen the 'HOLY FAMILY UNDER AN APPLE-TREE' that Rubens painted on the back of the wings of the Ildefonso picture (the wings have been sawn through and the two back panels joined together). This is a pleasing composition, only in part indeed by Rubens, but redeemed from commonplace by the charming figure of the boy Christ. The subsequent repainting may account for the fact that this picture has the air of being earlier in date than the main altar-piece.

The 'HOLY FAMILY WITH ST. FRANCIS,' that has passed from the Leigh Court collection to the Metropolitan Museum of New York, has many points of resemblance to the last picture. It is somewhat of a surprise to find M. Rooses giving this work to the year 1618; surely this is by far too early a date, though it may not be of so late a period—1635-36—as that assigned to it by Herr Rosenberg. There is a very inferior 'touched' replica of this picture at Windsor.

Of Rubens's late Holy Families I will only mention two other

examples. In the 'VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH A GOLDFINCH,' now at Cologne, the infant Christ is almost a repetition of Helen's firstborn, who sits naked on her lap in the picture at Munich. The 'HOLY FAMILY WITH SAINTS' (known also as the 'Repose in Egypt') in the Prado is a pleasant composition, almost a landscape, with points of resemblance both to the 'Jardin d'Amour' and to the altar-piece that hangs over Rubens's grave. There is a replica of this picture, much blackened, in the National Gallery. In the large woodcut by Jegher the composition is reversed.

The 'ST. TERESA PRAYING FOR THE SOULS IN PURGATORY' was, we know, painted about this time (*circa* 1634). It is one of the few late pictures in the Antwerp Gallery; the vermilion robes of Christ and the tame treatment of the nude take us back to the pictures of an earlier period, many of which hang near it; but this portion may well be by Van Thulden. Rubens's broader touch may be seen in the souls in purgatory below. The contrast of the two parts is indeed very marked in this work.

The 'CROWNING OF ST. CATHERINE' was painted in 1633 for a church at Malines. This picture, warm in tone and carefully painted, has long been the property of the Dukes of Rutland.

The 'LAST SUPPER,' the only version by Rubens of this subject and the only work by him in the Brera at Milan, was, as we now know, painted in 1632 for a chapel of the Cathedral of Malines. There it was seen by Reynolds, who objected to the realistic incident of the dog and bone in the foreground. By a strange misconception this picture was long attributed to a much earlier time. A sketch by Rubens's hand is in the Hermitage.

Rubens painted, in 1632, an 'ADORATION OF THE KINGS' for a convent at Louvain—this was the last time the subject was treated by him. Sir Joshua, who saw it when in Flanders, calls it a slight work, awkwardly composed. The picture was bought in 1806 by the then Marquis of Westminster. There is a vigorous sketch for this work at Hertford House.

I do not know why the 'JUDITH AND HOLOPHERNES' now in the Brunswick Gallery is given by M. Rooses and others to this time. It is essentially a study of candlelight after the manner of Honthorst, and seems to me to be closely allied to the Dresden 'Old Woman with a Brazier' of 1622. That vigorous work 'SAMSON TAKEN PRISONER,' now in the Pinakothek, is again an effect of artificial light; like the Ildefonso altar-piece, it is encircled by a frame of crimson drapery. I should be

inclined to place it rather before than after 1630; M. Rooses, however, gives it a later date.[1] There is a good mezzotint of this picture by Valentine Green.

Rubens has thrown his whole soul, that is his soul as an artist, into the 'MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS,' now at Munich, a work painted about 1635 for the Bishop of Ghent, and one of several pictures that at a later date the Duke of Richelieu sold to the Elector of Bavaria. In composition and general effect it belongs to the same class as our 'Rape of the Sabines,' but while the action is even more energetic, the colour is in this case colder. Rubens has here heaped up horror upon horror, but for all that we feel that he cares as little for what is going on as the sun that shines upon the scene.

As a result of some obscure psychological working of the artist's brain, Rubens about this time seems to have found especial pleasure in scenes of torture and physical distress, and this is the case above all where he is treating devotional subjects; so that now the very 'blood of the martyrs' provides the patches of crimson that still play an important part in his colour-scheme. This piling up of horrors takes the place in the case of sacred subjects of the 'orgiastic spirit' that at the same period we have found to prevail in the treatment of subjects taken from profane history and domestic life. The 'MARTYRDOM OF ST. LIEVIN' was painted about 1635 for the high altar of the Jesuit church at Ghent; on the suppression of the order in 1777 the picture came into the hands of the French king. By a strange inversion of the usual course, in the time of Napoleon it was transferred from Paris to Brussels, the latter city being then reckoned as a provincial town, and there it has remained ever since. A gay scheme of colour reigns in this work, not only in the heavenly vision above, but in the ghastly scene enacted in the foreground; but as usual, only the latter part is entirely by the master's hand.

In the same *bravura* spirit Rubens has treated the 'CHRIST BEARING THE CROSS' which now hangs as a companion to the last picture in the gallery at Brussels. This altar-piece was painted in 1636 for the monks of the Abbey of Afflighem in Brabant. We have here a dramatically, not to say sensationally, conceived scene, broadly and thinly painted with many beautiful passages of a silvery grey relieved by patches of vermilion. The centre of interest is the group of St. Veronica and Christ. Behind this are the figures of St. John and

[1] The 'Samson' was formerly universally attributed to the early Antwerp period (1612-15), and by some critics this early attribution is still upheld.

the Virgin; the colours are here dark and sunk, and this part appears to have been added as an afterthought. There are two important sketches for this work, one at Amsterdam and the other in the Academy at Vienna—they differ much from the finished picture.

About the same time Rubens painted the 'BEHEADING OF ST. PAUL' for another Belgian convent. This picture, no doubt closely allied in treatment to the two last mentioned, was burnt in 1695 when the French bombarded Brussels. There is a powerful sketch for this work at Dorchester House, as well as a carefully finished drawing (scarcely by the master's hand) in the National Gallery.

In the museum at Prague may be seen the 'MARTYRDOM OF ST. THOMAS.' Here the scene of horror in the foreground is wrapped in gloom, and contrasts with the flight of boy angels descending from a bright opening in the sky above. In the same museum hangs the 'ST. AUGUSTINE ON THE SEA-SHORE'; both pictures were commissioned as late as 1637 by a noble Bohemian lady for a convent at Prague.

The 'CRUCIFIXION OF ST. ANDREW' still hangs in the church of the Flemish hospital at Madrid, to which it was bequeathed in 1639 by one Jan van Vucht, a friend of Rubens and Moretus. A head of ST. ANDREW of this time, now in Vienna, differs considerably from that in this picture. Closely allied in treatment is the 'CRUCIFIXION OF ST. PETER' painted for the church of that name at Cologne. There has been preserved a remark of Rubens, *à propos* of this picture: he declares that he is overwhelmed with other work, but that the subject of this altar-piece *pleased him more than that of any other picture upon which he was then occupied.* The interpretation of this 'hard saying' seems to be that in the nude figure of the old apostle, heels in air and with outstretched arms, the painter was provided with a *new, unworn pattern.* That this is what appealed to Rubens in the subject is significant. This picture was ordered in 1637 by Jabach the banker, one of the most active collectors of the day. Although the elder Jabach died before its completion, the work ultimately reached its original destination, and it still hangs in the church at Cologne where the artist's father was buried.

When a painter in treating a tragic incident unintentionally provokes the spectator to uncontrollable mirth, we may perhaps infer that he is himself deficient in the sense of humour. This was undoubtedly the case with Rubens, and no better proof could be found of this deficiency than the 'ST. JUSTUS' now at Bordeaux, a

picture praised by Reynolds, that was painted for his friend the printer Moretus and destined for an Antwerp church.

With such a work as this, for the composition at least of which Rubens was responsible, we may pass from these ghastly scenes to a few late devotional works of a more peaceful nature.

The 'PIETÀ' in the Prado is a late work that long hung in the Escorial. The composition, the head of the Virgin above all, takes us back to the time when the young Vandyke was working in Rubens's studio, but the handling is now a very different one. In the sketchily treated 'SUPPER AT EMMAUS' there are some reminiscences of a well-known work of Titian; it is essentially an effect of warm evening light. Rubens had treated this subject in an early picture (*circa* 1611), painted in the manner of the Bolognese school. Both these pictures are now in Madrid, the later work in the Prado and the other in the private chapel of the Duke of Alva.

The 'MADONNA AND SAINTS' that stands over Rubens's tomb in the apsidal chapel of St. Jacob's church was placed there according to the terms of the artist's will. He selected this picture as a representative work of his final ripe period; we must not look here for any portraits of himself or of his family—we cannot even identify the saints. The colour is rich, the distribution of the main lights masterly, and in the figures in the foreground there is something that reminds one of a late Titian. What may, perhaps, be regarded as a replica or a clever contemporary copy of this picture is in the gallery of Sir Frederick Cook at Richmond.

The 'ST. CECILIA' now in Berlin, takes us back again to Helen and to the rich silk robes of the 'Jardin d'Amour.' The picture has suffered much, but it is still a masterly example of Rubens's subtle handling of colour in the last years of his life. The work was in the painter's house at his death.

The 'BRAZEN SERPENT' of our National Gallery came from a Genoese collection. The striking composition is accentuated by the contrast of light and shade. It is now so much darkened that the merits of the colouring can only be appreciated on a very fine day.

The 'RUDOLPH OF HABSBURG AND THE PRIEST' was already at Madrid in 1636. This is a scene in a country lane, quietly painted, the low-toned landscape probably by Wildens. Count Rudolph has yielded his horse to the priest who carries the consecrated elements, and the sacristan clings on as best he can to that of the attendant. Rubens for once has found a humorous motive in the obvious embarrassment

of the poor acolyte. This is indeed a picture that stands quite apart among the master's works.

There is no need to say much of a series of pictures that centre round the young ARCHDUKE FERDINAND who arrived in the Low Countries towards the end of 1634, flushed with the victory of Nördlingen. Rubens while at Madrid had already painted him as a pale youth in Cardinal's robes. In the portrait belonging now to Mr. Pierpont Morgan, he appears as the successful general, standing with resolute air, a red sash bound over his glittering armour. At Madrid we see him on his black charger, leading his troops to victory —always the same pale face, framed in auburn hair.

The pictures designed, and in part painted by Rubens, on the occasion of the triumphal entry of Ferdinand into Antwerp in the spring of 1635 were subsequently presented to the Archduke in place of a payment of money that the town professed itself too poor to provide. They are now scattered through the galleries of Europe. The 'FERDINAND LEAVING SPAIN' or 'NEPTUNE' (*Quos ego*) now at Dresden, and the 'MEETING OF THE TWO FERDINANDS' after the victory of Nördlingen at Vienna (the composition here inevitably calls to mind the 'Lanzas' of Velazquez) decorated one of the 'Theatres' by which the young prince was to pass. From other theatres or triumphal arches came the 'BATTLE OF NÖRDLINGEN'[1] now at Windsor, the huge 'COMMERCE DESERTING ANTWERP' in the Royal Gallery at Stockholm, the FERDINANDS, the MAXIMILIAN and the CHARLES V. now at Vienna (the last two in the Academy of that city), the portraits of the ARCHDUKES ALBERT, ISABELLA, and ERNEST at Brussels, and finally two tall allegorical figures at Lille. More interesting to us, as more directly from the hand of Rubens, are the sketches for these huge works, and still more the designs for the theatres and the arches themselves; of these last the finest are now in the Hermitage. Two panels with the designs for the 'ARC DE LA MONNAIE' have, however, remained at Antwerp. These are of special interest, as showing the manner in which Rubens felt his way to the final effect and the use that he made of mere suggestions of colour.[2] We have not a few of these sketches in England in private collections (Duke of Grafton, Marquis of Bute, others formerly belonging to Sir Abraham Hume). If in

[1] M. Rooses thinks that this picture was laid in by Gaspar van der Hoecke or his son Jean, and finished or at least 'touched' by Jordaens rather than by Rubens.

[2] Rubens's method is nowhere better exemplified than in the design made three years later for a TRIUMPHAL CAR, on the occasion of the celebration of the victory gained by Ferdinand at Calloo. On this fine sketch, now in the Antwerp Gallery, are many notes by his hand as to colour, etc.

these sketches we recognise the conception as it came fresh from the artist's brain, at the very other end of the scale there are the engravings of Van Thulden; in these, while the baroque element is exaggerated, all the spirit and charm of the original design have evaporated. These engravings, indeed, are chiefly of interest as showing that Rubens's architectural ideas were unchanged: he still adhered to the rhetorical and over-loaded treatment of façade-designing that he developed out of his early Italian studies.

I must now mention a few more portraits that Rubens painted during these last years. These are masterly works, firmly modelled and painted with decision, but in no less degree than the portraits of earlier days, they are in a measure uninteresting, and this is perhaps due to a certain lack of 'intimacy' and of psychological insight. I will take first the portraits of the two ancestors of the reigning houses of Austria and Spain, CHARLES THE BOLD and MAXIMILIAN, now in the Hof-museum at Vienna; these are highly finished pictures, warm in tone, the armour painted with evident gusto. Here, curiously enough, just when Rubens was not painting from a living model, there is more endeavour than usual at the expression of character.

The portrait of MATTHAEUS YRSSELIUS was painted for his tomb in the old convent of St. Michel of which he was Abbot; it is now in Copenhagen. The portrait of Rubens's confessor, the Dominican monk OPHORIUS, who but barely escaped 'martyrdom' at the hands of the Dutch, is now at the Hague; this is a typical Rubens portrait; an energetic head, somewhat roughly painted—the outside of the man seen with a painter's eye. The FREDERIC DE MARSELAER, burgomaster of Brussels, has quite lately passed through the auction room at Berlin (Königswarter sale); it was sold for over £4000 to a Paris dealer. These three last portraits date from the first years after Rubens's return from England. Somewhat later and of more interest is the portrait of Rubens's father-in-law, JAN BRANT, the learned commentator of Cicero and Caesar, at the age of 75, which is to be found in the Gallery at Munich.

I have now to pass summarily in review the vast series of classical, mythological and allegorical pictures that came from Rubens's studio during the last ten years of his life. The series includes several superlative works, as well as much of which the design only and at most a few final touches can be attributed to the master's hand.

Not long after 1630, Rubens received a commission for eight

large designs to be executed in tapestry—the subject chosen was the 'HISTORY OF ACHILLES.' It is uncertain whether the order came from Philip IV. or from Charles I.[1] Indeed, an unusual mystery hangs over this series; there is a total want of documentary evidence concerning it. The tapestry is known to us by five pieces now in the Museum of Decorative Art at Brussels; in these the hand of Van Thulden may perhaps be traced—he may well have executed the canvases that served as patterns; but of the canvases themselves, apart from two that have found their way to the castle at Pau, there is now no trace. Of the original sketches a set of six belongs to Lord Barrymore (Mr. Smith Barry), and others are in Berlin. The architectural framework again plays an important part in the composition, but the favourite torque and belted columns are here replaced by female caryatides.

When in 1637 Rubens received through his friend Justus Suttermans, a commission from the Grand Duke of Tuscany for an important picture, he chose as his subject 'THE HORRORS OF WAR.' This is an elaborate allegory, and for once in a way Rubens has provided a key. In a letter to Suttermans he explains in detail how it has been his aim to exemplify the ruin and destruction in war time of all that ennobles the life of man. The passage is of extreme interest as an illustration of the thought that was uppermost in the mind of Rubens; it is the passionate expression of his detestation of that endless war for the cessation of which he had for so many years vainly striven. Into the picture (it is now in the Pitti) Rubens has thrown his whole heart —it is a magnificent example of his later manner. It is well known to us by the powerful sketch—or rather early version—that has passed from the Rogers collection to the National Gallery.[2]

Of the larger works of Rubens in the National Gallery, there is perhaps only one that has not suffered from our English climate, or become dark from repeated varnishing. This is the 'ABDUCTION OF THE SABINE WOMEN,' a picture thinly painted in a light key; a prevailing rosy light binds together a complicated design, made up, like the 'Massacre of the Innocents' at Munich, of a tangle of struggling figures. Only the more prominent figures are by the master, but, for all that, this is one of the finest examples that we have in England, both of the dynamic force and of the beautiful quality of the paint to

[1] M. Muntz declares that the tapestry was executed at Mortlake.

[2] This little masterpiece now hangs as a companion to that wonderful 'Sunset' of which I shall have something to say shortly. Let those who would understand what Rubens was capable of in his last years carefully examine these two pictures. Those who cannot appreciate their superlative merit need not trouble themselves further with the study of Rubens.

be found in Rubens's later works. It may be compared and contrasted under both these heads with that superb example of what I regard as the end of the middle period, the 'Thomyris' of Lord Darnley (p. 151). The other pictures that Rubens painted of the Sabine Women, both in early and late days (Alfred de Rothschild, Munich, etc.), are on the whole inferior in interest. Here may be mentioned the brilliant little 'FINDING OF ROMULUS AND REMUS' at Sanssouci, a 'finished sketch' remarkable both for colour and composition.

The 'ABUNDANCE,' with three nymphs, half robed in silken gowns, was purchased some time since from the Duke of Marlborough by Baron Edmond de Rothschild, it is said for £20,000; a large sum for a work that has perhaps received little more than the final touches from Rubens. The treatment of the rich silk drapery recalls, however, certain passages in the 'Jardin d'Amour,' and this may have appealed to one who was already the owner of one version of the latter picture. In the unfinished and sketchy 'BATHERS' at Sanssouci, the top part has been cleverly added, probably by some French painter at the time of Frederick the Great. The group of the three girls unrobing should be compared with the above-mentioned two pictures of M. Edmond de Rothschild, and again with the 'Diana and Satyrs' of Berlin. We may find in it a connecting link between two otherwise divergent groups of pictures.

There is a small group of pictures mostly of very late date, in which Rubens gave full vent to the erotic tendencies that seem to have at times possessed him. Here, in the wild rush of nymphs, satyrs and centaurs through the woodland glades, there is an abandon and a verve that are only to be found in the works of the artist's final years and to be found nowhere else.

The 'LOVES OF THE CENTAURS' was bought by Lord Rosebery at the Hamilton sale for £2000. In this little panel the half-classical spirit calls to mind the work of some of the Italians of the sixteenth century; the skilful scheming of the lines has in no way interfered with the freedom of the movement. It is an example of a motive that has found favour of late days with painters in France and elsewhere. But perhaps the most characteristic picture of this group is the 'NYMPHS OF DIANA PURSUED BY SATYRS' in the Prado, that was bought by Philip from Rubens's studio after his death—a marvellous frieze-like composition, in which the 'pattern' of struggling figures is carried through the whole ten feet of its length.

The 'DIANA SURPRISED BY SATYRS,' now at Cassel, though a picture

of this period straight from the master's hand, none the less carries us back to an earlier time, for many of the figures are to be seen in the 'Diana returning from the Chase' at Dresden, a work of 1616. But contrast the swing and the directness of the Cassel canvas with the tame restraint of the earlier work.

The superb 'DIANA AND SATYRS' of the Berlin Gallery belongs to the latest years. Titianesque indeed in colour and conception, in this great work there is a fire and a spontaneity that belong to no one but Rubens. The figure of the goddess, encircled by crimson drapery, dominates the canvas. The dark-haired nymphs are of a type that prevails in the latest Spanish pictures.

The 'DIANA AND ACTAEON' was bought by the Duc de Richelieu for 3000 dollars at the sale after Rubens's death. The Duke was so well contented with his purchase that he presented the widowed Helen with a gold watch. The Duke's picture is doubtless to be identified with the fine canvas, which, although shorn of its left-hand side (including the figure of Actaeon), fetched over £6000 at the Schubart sale in 1899. The Diana closely resembles the goddess of the Berlin picture, and the nymphs recall both the Sanssouci 'Bathers' and the Marlborough 'Abundance.'

The 'JUDGMENT OF PARIS' in the National Gallery has been carried by Rubens to a higher finish than was usual in these later times. The work bears the mark of the master's hand throughout, but, for all that, the composition is identical with that of the small panel at Dresden, a work which, if Rubens had any share in it at all, must be referred to a much earlier time. On the other hand, the Prado picture of the same subject, painted very shortly after, differs in composition and is carried out in a completely different spirit.

The little 'MERCURY AND ARGUS' of Dresden is a charming composition, with something about it reminiscent of Tintoretto. The figure of Argus is repeated in the later picture at Madrid. In the very late 'BACCHUS' of the Hermitage, we have the fat sensuous god of the Romans treated in a spirit of complete *abandon*. This picture was sold by Rubens's nephew Philip to the Duc de Richelieu; there is a studio copy at Dresden.

I have yet to speak of the canvases turned out post-haste for the Spanish king during the last few years of Rubens's life. These, with the late landscapes still to be described, are the final words of the great artist.

CHAPTER XIV

Last Pictures for the Spanish King—The Landscapes of Rubens.

OF the earlier pictures painted for the King of Spain, I have spoken in more than one place. A considerable interval divides them from the last batch (or rather series of batches) which forms by itself a compact group. Closely connected, however, with the Madrid series are a few of the pictures lately passed in review —the 'Baths' and 'Huntings of Diana' for example. Some of these, although they were in Rubens's studio at his death, for one reason or another escaped the eager bidding of Philip's agents.

It was to no less a personage than the Archduke Ferdinand that it fell to urge on the over-harassed painter. Writing to his brother the King, he says that he is ready to proceed to Antwerp for that very purpose. Rubens, he writes later, will not bind himself—'but I spur him on as much as I am able, and I will go to see him myself as soon as the works are a little more advanced.' One would think that the King had some presagement that the days of the great master were drawing to a close. He would get all he could while the hand could still wield the magic brush, regardless of the strain that he thus put upon the overtaxed and gout-racked painter.

By March, 1638, as many as one hundred and twelve pictures were sent off by way of France; not all by Rubens, of course; but in the fifty-six subjects taken from the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid Rubens had a greater or less part—the design at least was his in every case. These pictures were destined both for the royal hunting lodge of the Torre de la Parada and for the palace at Madrid; thirty-one of them may now be seen in the Prado. There are eight large pictures, above all, in which the work of Rubens is prominent. These are the 'CENTAURS AND THE LAPITHAE,' the 'BANQUET OF TEREUS,' the 'ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE,' the 'MILKY WAY,' the 'MERCURY AND ARGUS,' the 'RAPE OF PROSERPINE,' the 'SATURN,' and the 'GANYMEDE.'[1]

[1] I follow in this the analysis of M. Rooses (*Vie de Rubens*, p. 598). For an appreciation of the later pictures of the master, see the chapter on Rubens in Mr. Ricketts's work on the Prado.

Rubens had a hand too in three smaller pictures—the 'FLORA,' the 'FORTUNE,' and the 'MERCURY.' The others were in the main painted, from Rubens's designs, of course, by one or other of his assistants—by Jan van Eyck, by Erasmus Quellin, Theodor van Thulden, Matthias Borrekens, Jan Cossiers, Cornelis de Vos and Jacob Peter Gouwi. This is a list of names that suggests many curious reflections. The first three, indeed, are well known as workers in the great studio. Cossiers was a painter of some distinction, whose work, however, lies for the most part outside of the realm of Rubens. As for Cornelis de Vos, it is a surprise to find the name of the great Antwerp portrait painter on the list. Gouwi is a painter of whom we might wish to know more. Mr. Ricketts finds his hand in some of the pictures that seem to me to bear the stamp of the later style of the master himself.[1]

It is at this point that I am brought face to face with certain of the characteristics of the final phases of Rubens's art.

I fancy I can see in some of these late Prado pictures[2] as well as in a few others—in that beautiful wreck, the 'TOURNAMENT' at Paris, for instance (a subject suggested perhaps by the feudal associations of his new castle), and again in one or two of the late landscapes—a new emotional element, some approach to the romantic spirit, a suggestion, that is to say, of something beyond what is obviously presented. This is a thing so apart from the general spirit of Rubens's work, that one hesitates to accept it as anything more than a merely subjective interpretation of certain casual arrangements of chiaroscuro, or, again, of gestures and facial types that may depend upon the model employed. And this brings me to another characteristic of these later pictures. Helen no longer stands alone as the dominating influence; whether for face, for figure, or for gesture, she is at times replaced by another type of female beauty that we see best exemplified in the 'Eurydice,' but which may be found also in the Minerva of the Madrid 'Judgment of Paris,'[3] and perhaps in the foremost female saint in the picture that hangs over the tomb of Rubens. From many points of view, these wonderful last years of the great master's life are of so profound an

[1] The sketches for most of these pictures were formerly at Madrid, in the Pastrana collection which is now dispersed. The only ones I know of that have so far found their way to public galleries are those which are to be seen at Brussels—the 'FALL OF THE TITANS,' the 'MERCURY AND ARGUS' and the 'HIPPODAMIA'—rapid sketches on panel in tones of silver and pink. The slightly painted little 'FORTUNA,' at Berlin, possibly belongs to this series.

[2] I speak with hesitation, as it is some time since I have seen the originals, and I am here chiefly guided by photographs.

[3] I do not know on what ground Mr. Ricketts sees in the first picture nothing but the hand of Gouwi and in the second that of Cornelis de Vos.

interest that one would like to have some more certain light upon such points as these.

But Philip was still eager for new pictures. In 1639 the Archduke was again spurring on the painter and his assistants; but it is doubtful whether more than one or two of the last batch were completed before the master's death; in any case these were the pictures that for the most part were delivered by his executors in 1640 and 1641. Of this last batch the 'HERCULES' and the fine 'PERSEUS AND ANDROMEDA'—Perseus clad in plate armour, and Andromeda repeated from the single figure that has passed from Blenheim to Berlin—are, as already mentioned, stated to have been finished by Jordaens.

The 'JUDGMENT OF PARIS' of the Prado, which was sent off in 1639, was indeed a belated member of an earlier batch; it was found to be too large (it is twelve feet in length) to go with the other pictures by ordinary post. Ferdinand, writing of this picture to his brother, says that there was only one fault to be found with it—the nudity of the goddesses; but the painter could not be induced to change this; upon it, he maintained, depended the beauty of the picture. The Archduke mentions incidentally that the Venus in the centre was a successful portrait of the artist's wife, who was regarded as the most beautiful woman in the country. The picture has suffered much, as indeed have all those that have survived of the series painted for the Torre de la Parada. Many were destroyed when this hunting lodge was sacked by the troops of the Austrian pretender to the Spanish throne in 1710. The head of Venus appears to have been repainted; but I think that the new type to which I have referred above may be recognised in the goddess to the left.

By the death of Rubens, which followed so shortly after, the supply came to an end. But Philip was not yet content. He gave orders for large purchases when Rubens's property came to be sold. He then acquired seventeen works by the master as well as a few pictures by other artists. Some of the Rubenses then bought are earlier works which have been already mentioned—the 'Nymph and Satyrs' of the Prado, for example, I have classed with a small series of similar subjects. The 'THREE GRACES' probably came at this time—a triumph of Rubens's final handling in the rendering of the nude, and one of the gems of the Prado gallery.

RUBENS AS A LANDSCAPE PAINTER. Before proceeding to consider the grand series of late landscapes, let me sum up briefly the

various influences that had affected the earlier landscape work of Rubens.[1]

As might have been expected, Rubens's earliest landscapes, those painted before and after his return from Italy, have in the main affinities with the schematised, classical treatment of the Carracci; the typical example is the 'Palatine Hill' in the Louvre. In the 'Rainbow' of the same gallery we see the influence of the school of Flemish artists then working in Rome; of these Paul Bril was the chief, and indeed the background of such a work as the 'Romulus and Remus,' now in the Capitoline Museum, might well have been painted by Bril himself. The 'Prodigal Son' of the Antwerp Gallery, and the 'Winter' at Windsor (so far as the latter is by the master) are studies from nature; noticeable as early instances of Rubens's interest in the farm life of his own country (see p. 119). On the other hand, the so-called 'Summer' (also at Windsor) belongs essentially to that panoramic, all-comprehending school of landscape that we know so well from the numberless works by Van Valckenborch, Coninxlo and de Momper—painters who enjoyed a great popularity at the end of the sixteenth century. This picture indeed is probably in the main by Van Uden, whose career as a landscape painter from about 1615 onwards shadows that of the great master. The 'Summer' should be compared with the little landscape, formerly attributed to Rubens, belonging to the Duke of Westminster—this is a typical example of the school of the late sixteenth century.

In this connection, it should not be forgotten that van Uden was not born till 1595. His name, however, has been brought into relation with a certain type of more or less panoramic landscape, founded on the rich rolling Brabant country and on the Antwerp polders, with meadows divided by rows of pollard willows. But surely the name of Van Uden and that of Wildens also have been used too freely by M. Rooses and others, and the part of Rubens in many wooded backgrounds, and still more in rugged foregrounds with gnarled roots and trailing creepers, has been unduly minimised. At any rate, much work of this latter kind, if carried out by the assistants, was based upon studies that have been preserved, and which are undoubtedly by the hand of the master. The woodland backgrounds (and the foregrounds too) of the hunting scenes might be arranged in a chronological series, culminating in such a work as the gloomy, broadly-painted land-

[1] These earlier landscapes have already been described in chapters ix. and x.

scape at Brussels, where the Atalanta in vermilion robe and the autumn tints of some trees to the left are the only passages of warm colour.

Through the whole of his middle career we can point to two types in the landscape backgrounds of Rubens. In the one we find a continuation of the sombre, schematical treatment that in the earlier works we have associated with the influence of the Bolognese school—the trees are conventionally drawn, and with little local colour—such work I find is usually attributed to Wildens; the other is the type already indicated, more homebred and literal, and this is for the most part associated with Van Uden. It would perhaps be safe to consider these two treatments of landscape as merely carrying on, in one case the Italian, in the other the Flemish tradition. The latter is the more important to us, for out of it the glorious late landscape of Rubens was developed.

But meantime Rubens fell under the influence, or rather, I should say, made experiments in the manner of some of his contemporaries whose landscapes had appealed to him. Although he painted several pictures in colloboration with his friend Jan Breughel, the delicate vistas of his popular contemporary, executed like miniatures in conventional tones of blue and green, appealed little to him. Perhaps Rubens may have had more sympathy with the landscape work (so superb of its kind, though so little appreciated at the present day) of his friend's father, old Peter Breughel; we know that he bought more than one of his pictures.

Rubens, at a comparatively early date, must have seen some of the little landscapes—often so wonderfully modern in sentiment—that the Frankfort artist Elsheimer (1575- *c.* 1620) was painting in Rome during the years that preceded his death. In these we recognise at times the spirit of classical romance as expounded by Virgil, or perhaps rather read into his poems. Rubens we know bought Elsheimer's pictures, and assisted him in his distress. I can give two instances of the direct influence of Elsheimer on a picture by our master. The 'Flight into Egypt' is a subject that the Frankfort master had made especially his own. Rubens, in the little panel at Cassel, follows closely in his steps. Then, again, there is the 'SHIPWRECK OF AENEAS' (De Piles, who saw it in the Duke of Richelieu's collection, calls it a view of Porto Venere, near Spezzia) that has passed to Berlin from an English collection. The left-hand part of this romantic little work, with the beacon tower on a rocky promontory, appears to be founded on

STUDY OF TREES

LOUVRE, PARIS

Elsheimer's 'Shipwreck of St. Paul,' now in the collection of Lord Methuen.[1]

It is perhaps the influence of Paul Bril rather than that of Elsheimer that can be seen in the fantastic landscape at Vienna known, from the figures in the extreme right of the picture, as 'PHILEMON AND BAUCIS.' We have here an effect of rain, storm, and approaching flood, painted with a masterly brush in silvery tones of blue and green. The weeds and branches and the passage with the rainbow in the foreground should not be overlooked; these are treated in a manner that calls up recollections of some similar passages in the works of Turner.

The same spirit of classical romance reigns in the 'ULYSSES AND NAUSICAA' in the Pitti Gallery. In this, as in the last-mentioned picture, we may still perhaps find some recollections of the fantastic compositions of Van Valckenborch and others, so much in favour at an earlier period, even more perhaps of the spirit of Paul Bril. M. Rooses, I should note, thinks that Van Uden had a hand in both these pictures. Although on the ground, no doubt, of the loose yet masterly handling, they are usually attributed to the last period, neither the 'Philemon' nor the 'Ulysses' has much in common with the 'Steen' series of landscapes. Indeed, such pictures as these lie apart from the typical landscape work of Rubens—the work that has placed him among the greatest landscape painters of all times. In the series of home-bred scenes, yet to be described, the painter comes into direct contact with mother earth as exhibited in the flat, willow-lined polders of Antwerp, and the rich corn-fields that cover the gently swelling hills of Brabant. Here we have muddy lanes with country carts, and peasants on their way to market or returning from their labour, wayside pools and ditches with wading cattle and scrambling ducks. To such scenes as these Rubens turned in his last years, rendering them with the same vigorous and flowing brush that had served him for his nymphs and goddesses and satyrs.

That this glorious series of Flemish landscapes belongs to the last years of Rubens's life, we know, apart from technical grounds, by the presence in more than one of them of his country residence, the castle of Steen. These late landscapes are, on the face of them, entirely the work of his own hand. But here a curious problem presents itself. There are certain pictures which, though poorer in colour and less

[1] The 'Jupiter and Mercury in the house of Philemon and Baucis' (in the Hofmuseum) follows very closely in composition the little picture of Elsheimer in the Dresden Gallery. But the Viennese interior can only rank as a school piece, in which the hand of Jordaens may possibly be traced.

opulent in style, belong, as far as the elements go of which they are built up, essentially to the same family as the great 'Steen' landscapes. They are certainly earlier in date, and it is usual to find in them the hand of the young Van Uden, and, if this be so, we arrive at the curious result that Rubens late in life founded his style in landscape, or at least his choice of subject, upon the earlier work of his assistant. Let us take the 'DAIRY FARM AT LAEKEN' (see above, p. 119). M. Rooses thinks that this picture was painted before 1618, and maintains that Rubens for nearly twenty years after this time never turned his hand to landscape work. Other critics, I should mention, have placed the Laeken Farm as late as 1635, and see in the foliage the hand of Van Uden. There are several other small landscapes of varying merit, in which the farm-girls and the cows have been painted, it would seem, from the same models as in the Laeken picture. The 'MILKING SCENE' at Munich, with the eleven lean kine, and the reeds and willow stumps thinly painted, in so masterly a style, over a dull green background, is perhaps the most brilliant example of this series. It would be safer, probably, to place this group about the year 1625, when we know that Rubens was stopping at Laeken, and to find in it a link between the earlier and the later groups of landscape. To it also would belong the 'WATERING PLACE' in the Liechtenstein gallery—here the contrast between the poor conventional landscape (perhaps in this case by Wildens) and the crisply painted milk-girls is very striking—as well as one or two other pictures in which the cattle and figures of peasants in the foreground help to redeem a dull and ill-drawn landscape. The Duke of Buccleuch has another 'WATERING PLACE,' a striking composition, with a mass of trees on a rocky eminence surrounded by water; this picture is best known from the large line-engraving by John Browne. The 'FOREST SCENE' at dawn, with huntsmen and dogs, belonging to the Wynn family, is one of the series engraved by Schelte a Bolswert. The 'ATALANTA' at Brussels is again a forest scene; a dark, loosely handled work, to which I have already referred, painted in subdued tones. There is a replica or 'touched' copy of this picture at Madrid.

The 'CHARRETTE EMBOURBÉE' at St. Petersburg has been highly praised. But here we have the same difficulty as with what I have called the Laeken group. If the landscape is to be given to Rubens, it must belong to an earlier time than the 'Steen' pictures. A work of much the same class is the little 'WOODLAND-ROAD WITH A CART,' belonging to Lord Northbrook.

STUDY OF COWS

COLLECTION OF THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, CHATSWORTH

There is in the National Gallery a picture that I will call the 'AUTUMN SUNSET.' In this little work the merits, and some may perhaps think the demerits, of the master's later landscape style are well summed up. It will form a good introduction to the great 'Steen' landscapes. Rubens has here thrown aside the restraint that confined his brush to shades of olive-green and brown. He has not feared to reproduce the rich autumnal foliage and the vivid sunset sky. And yet it is not the local colour exactly that is rendered; the eye is caught at once by the globe of the setting sun, which by a bold licence appears to set in front of the hill. Dazzled by this we are left uncertain how far the brilliant chromatic effect in sky and landscape may not in part be the result of the action of the bright light on the spectator's retina. Never, not even by the great landscape painters of the nineteenth century, early and late, has this truly subjective, momentary impression been so marvellously rendered. In the foreground a shepherd pipes to his sheep; this is a favourite motive with Claude. But what a contrast to the calm, restful spirit of the painter of the Roman Campagna! Here everything speaks of life and motion; the effect itself is but a momentary one; a minute later and the sun will be gone and a total change will have come over the scene.

The great 'LANDSCAPE WITH THE CHÂTEAU OF STEEN' is the impersonification of autumn. Rubens has indeed here thrown too many incidents into the foreground; it is full of passages of interest which it takes some time to search out—the fowler, the partridges, the market-cart, the wonderful confusion of brambles and weeds; again, away by the castle, Rubens himself with wife and child may be discovered; all these are lost when one retires far enough from the picture to take in at a glance the rich autumn scene. Like Turner, Rubens was here so interested in the world of life before him that in the rendering of it he scarcely knew where to stop. How far, in the case of either master, has this heaping up of superfluous incidents interfered with the general pictorial effect? By the answer to this question the critics of the present day might be arrayed in two divergent schools.

The 'RAINBOW' at Hertford House is by some regarded as the finest landscape of Rubens. As at present hung it is very difficult to see the picture as a whole, but the composition is here more concentrated than in the companion landscape in the National Gallery.[1] Rubens painted cattle superbly; he made them the subject of a number of detailed sketches, many of which have been preserved. They are rather lean

[1] The two hung for long as companions in the Balbi Palace at Genoa.

beasts, as reckoned by our modern standard; but the sharply defined contours gave better opportunities for careful drawing. They are in any case the ancestors of the cows both of Gainsborough and Turner. The ducks, too, in the corner of the 'Rainbow' landscape should not be overlooked; they take their place in a delicious passage of foreground painting, a passage of all the greater interest as just such a piece of water, half stream, half ditch, with muddy bank and tall weeds may be seen to-day close by the trim shrubberies of the Château of Steen, where all else is now so changed in character. There, in summer, the cattle still stand about among the ducks and geese from the neighbouring mill. There is a smaller, and perhaps somewhat earlier, version of this 'Rainbow' landscape at Munich, much tamer in colour than the beautiful picture at Hertford House.

The 'RETURN FROM THE FIELDS' in the Pitti is essentially a picture of the same class, though in this case some have found in the landscape the hand of Van Uden. Here, in the distance, may be seen the towers of Malines, a town which lies only some six or seven miles from Rubens's château at Steen. For the figures of the Pitti picture—they are of some importance—there are careful studies in the Albertina.

Finally, I must call attention to the little picture in the Louvre, with windmill and men sawing—a picture worthy to be classed with the 'Autumn Sunset' in our National Gallery. This I will call the 'AUTUMN SUNRISE'; the sun is struggling through the opalescent mist that hangs over the middle distance. This little work, so Turneresque in conception, makes, however, little impression at the first glance, and is often overlooked.[1]

But no account of the later work of Rubens as a landscape painter would be complete without some notice of the landscape 'backgrounds' that take so important a place in many of the later figure subjects. In work of this kind the influence of Titian and of some of Titian's successors is very prominent—nowhere more than in that magnificent canvas (so strangely depreciated by Rooses and others), the

[1] The following curious passage is quoted by Horace Walpole from a MS. work of Edward Norgate (d. 1650) on *Miniatures, or the Art of Limning*—'Landscape,' says Norgate, 'is an art so new in England, and so lately come ashore, as all the language within our four seas cannot find it a name, but a borrowed one, and that from a people that are no great lenders, but upon good security—the Dutch. For, to say the truthe, the art is theirs, and the best, that, wherewithal, Sir P. P. Rubens was soe delighted, in his latter time, as he quitted all his other practice in picture and story, whereby he got a vast estate (150,000 crowns), to studie this, whereof he hath left the worlde, the best that are to be seene, some whereof were at York House, but now unhappily transplanted. The principal whereof was an Aurora, indeed a rare piece as done by the life, as he himself told me—"*Un poco adjutata.*"'

'REPENTANT MAGDALENE,' that has lately been removed from Sanssouci to the New Museum at Berlin, where it now hangs as a worthy pendant to the superb and masterly 'Diana Surprised by Satyrs.'

I have now sketched the life history of Rubens, and traced the course of his artistic development. In following the busy, well-filled career of the many-sided man of the world, I have attempted to bring out what seems to me the noblest direction of his energies—his unremitting devotion to the welfare of his country as summed up by his efforts in the cause of peace. As an artist, what has interested me most has been the gradual development of the power to give full expression to that inner impulse which must have been an obsession with him from an early period—the impulse, I mean, to render the dynamic forces of nature—the fury and the rapid onrush of the battle or the chase, or again the rhythmic movements of the dance. As a colourist we have seen that the effect of richness, which in early days was obtained by somewhat crude devices, was in later times brought about, with greater completeness and less conscious straining, by methods apparently more direct and spontaneous. It is Rubens's great principle of economy of pigment that has given him a place as the most learned if not as the greatest colourist of all times.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

P. 107, *note.*—Sandrart has a gossiping story which is further worked up by De Piles to the effect that Rubens, fearing that Jordaens might surpass him as a colourist, occupied him for a long time in making cartoons. Special mention is made of those for the 'King of Spain's Tapestry,' after sketches by Rubens's hand.

P. 163, *note.*—In the catalogue of the '*Succession*' there is mention of a portrait of 'Mad^{elle} Picquery' that fell to the share of the widow. On the other hand the presence of a sketch for Rubens's 'Continence of Scipio' (burnt 1636) on the back of the Windsor panel has been held to point to an earlier date. But the Windsor portrait has the air of a work of the 'twenties—far too late for Isabella (as a bride) and a little too early for Helen.

LISTS OF PICTURES

The following lists include all or nearly all the pictures, wholly or in part by Rubens, now in Public Galleries. In the case of Private Collections no claim is made for completeness.

*** *The Dimensions are given in inches—the height preceding the width.*

PART I.—PRINCIPAL PUBLIC GALLERIES

ANTWERP

MUSEUM

1. Nicolas Rockox.
   Panel, 11 × 16¼. Very early, perhaps before 1600. Formerly attributed to Vandyke.

2. Baptism of Christ.
   Canvas, 162 × 265. Painted, about 1605, for the Jesuit Church at Mantua. See p. 87, Plate XV.

3. Christ on the Cross.
   Canvas, 86 × 48. About 1610. See p. 108, Plate XLVII.

4. The Prodigal Son.
   Panel, 42 × 61. About 1612. From the Fountaine Collection. See pp. 120, 181, Plate LXXVIII.

5. Venus Frigida.
   Panel, 56½ × 73. Signed and dated 1614. Enlarged at top and side. See p. 113, Plate LXXII.

6. The Dead Saviour wept by St. John and the Holy Women.
   Panel, 21½ × 29. Painted 1614. See p. 121, Plate LXXIV.

7. The Holy Family with the Parrot.
   Panel, 64½ × 75½. Painted, about 1614, for the Guild of St. Luke. See p. 111, Plate LXXVII.

8-10. The Incredulity of St. Thomas.
   Panel, 55 × 48. Centre of triptych. On the wings the portraits of Nicolas Rockox, and his wife Adriana Perez, each 57 × 22. Painted, 1613-15, for the Rockox tomb in the Récollet Church, Antwerp. See p. 108, Plates LXVI. and LXVII.

11-15. The Dead Saviour ('Christ à la Paille').
   Panel, 55 × 39. Centre of triptych. On the wings, right—The Virgin and Child, 54 × 16½; left—St. John the Evangelist, 54 × 16. On the back of the wings, in grisaille, The Saviour and the Virgin Mary. Painted, about 1618, for the Michielsen tomb in the Cathedral, Antwerp. See p. 130, Plates CLXIV. and CLXV.

16. The Last Communion of St. Francis.
   Panel, 164 × 88. Painted, 1619, for the Récollet Church, Antwerp. See p. 129, Plate CLXXIV.

17. The Crucifixion ('Le Coup de Lance').
Panel, 166 × 122. Presented, 1620, by the Burgomaster Rockox to the Récollet Church, Antwerp. See pp. 38 *n.*, 129, 130, Plate CLXXVII.

18. The Trinity.
Panel, 63 × 60. Painted, 1620-21, for the Carmelite Church, Antwerp. See p. 130, Plate CCII.

19. The Adoration of the Kings.
Panel, 174 × 132. Painted, 1624, for the Abbey Church of St. Michel, Antwerp. See pp. 136 *n.*, 146, 147, 148, Plate CCXXXVIII.

20. The Education of the Virgin.
Panel, 76 × 55. Painted, about 1625, for the Church of the Barefooted Carmelites, Antwerp. See p. 147, Plate CCLXXVIII.

21. Portrait of a Man.
Panel, 40 × 28½. About 1625. Bought, 1878, from a Belgian Collection. See p. 152, Plate CCLXXVI.

22. Caspar Gevartius, Town-Secretary, Antwerp.
Panel, 47 × 39. About 1628. See pp. 152, 153, Plate CCXCIII.

23. Minerva repelling Discord.
Canvas, 25½ × 20⅞. Finished sketch for Whitehall ceiling. Doubtful. 1630-33.

24. Sta. Teresa praying for Souls in Purgatory.
Panel, 76 × 54. Painted, about 1634, for the Church of the Barefooted Carmelites, Antwerp. See p. 169, Plate CCCXCIV.

25. Two Sketches for the Triumphal Arch of the Mint, Antwerp, erected in 1635.
Panel, each 40½ × 28. See p. 173, Plates CCCLXXVIII. and CCCLXXIX.

26. Design for a Triumphal Car for the Celebration of the Victory of Calloo, 1638.
Panel, 40½ × 28. See p. 173 *n.*, Plate CCCCLI.

BERLIN

KAISER-FRIEDRICH MUSEUM

1. Mary and the Magdalen Weeping over the Body of Christ.
Sketch on panel, 13⅝ × 10⅝. Date very uncertain, 1616? From the Demidoff Collection. Plate XC.

2. St. Sebastian.
Canvas, 78¾ × 50⅜. Probably about 1614. From the Munro Collection. Plate LVII.

3. Isabella Brant.
Panel. About 1612. Acquired, 1903, from a private Collection. Plate L.

4. Venus and Adonis.
Panel, 44 × 38. About 1615. Crude from over-cleaning. Came, 1906, from the Royal Collections.

5. Neptune and Amphitrite.
Canvas, 90½ × 120. 1615-18. From the Schönborn Collection. See p. 118, Plate CCXXVI.

6. Perseus and Andromeda.
Panel, 39 × 54. About 1615. In part unfinished. From the Royal Prussian Collections. See p. 113, Plate XCIII.

7. Bust of St. Peter.
Panel, 24 × 19¼. Study for head of Peter in the St. Petersburg 'Christ in the House of Simon.' 1615-20. From the Suermondt Collection. Perhaps rather by Vandyke. Plate cxxxviii.

8. The Conversion of St. Paul.
Canvas, 102 × 146. About 1617. Only central group finished by Rubens. From the Leigh Court Collection. See p. 116, Plate cxii.

9. The Capture of Tunis by the Emperor Charles v.
Panel, 30¼ × 47¼. About 1618 (perhaps later). Rapidly sketched in with little colour. See p. 158 *n.*, Plate clxiii.

10. Virgin and Child with Illuminated Missal and Flowers.
Canvas, 59½ × 42½. About 1620. The accessories by other artists. Plate cc.

11. The March of Silenus.
Canvas, 83½ × 104½. About 1620. From the Marlborough Collection. See pp. 138, 139, Plate ccxxi.

12. Infant Christ with St. John, Lamb, etc.
Panel, 37½ × 49¼. Damaged in parts. School-piece or 'touched' work of about 1620. See p. 123.

13. The Shipwreck of Aeneas (*otherwise* 'View of Porto Venere').
Canvas, 24 × 39. 1620-25 (or perhaps later). From the Hope Collection. See pp. 120, 182, Plate ccxxx.

14. Boy Playing with Bird (probably Rubens's son Nicolas).
Rapid study on panel, 19¼ × 15¾. About 1620. See Plate cxxvii.

15. The Resurrection of Lazarus.
Canvas, 103½ × 77. About 1624, but perhaps earlier. See p. 149, Plate ccxl.

16. Madonna Enthroned with St. Catherine and other Saints.
Panel, 31 × 21½. Sketch or rather small 'touched' replica of the picture in St. Augustin's, Antwerp. 1627-28. See p. 149, Plate cccix.

17. The Coronation of the Virgin.
Canvas, 104 × 71½. About 1630. Pupil's work 'touched' in places by Rubens. Plate cccxxviii.

18. Capture of Paris by Henri iv.
Panel, 9⅜ × 17¾. About 1630. Sketch for picture never executed. See p. 158, Plate cccxxxvi.

19. The Death of Achilles.
Canvas, 18 × 18. About 1630. Sketch for cartoon to be executed in tapestry. From the Thiem Collection, 1904. See p. 175, Plate cccxxxii.

20. Fortune.
Panel, 13⅜ × 9. Very slight. Probably painted about 1636, as a sketch for the picture at Madrid. From the Suermondt Collection. See p. 179 *n.*, Plate ccccxxvii.

21. Mars and Venus with Cupid.
12¼ × 9. Sketch on panel. 1629-30. From the Suermondt Collection. Plate cccxviii.

22. Diana Hunting a Stag.
Canvas, 69 × 188½. Figures to right 'touched' by Rubens. Animals by Snyders. Landscape by Wildens. About 1630. See p. 117, Plate cccxxxiii.

23. Diana Bathing, surprised by Satyrs.
Panel, 75 × 99. All by Rubens; only figure of Diana finished. 1635-38. From Sanssouci. See pp. 176, 177, Plate ccccxxv.

24. The Repentant Magdalen.
Canvas, 83 × 111. About 1635. All by Rubens. Came, 1906, from the Royal Palaces. See pp. 186, 187, Plate cccci.

25. Andromeda.
Panel, 74½ × 37. 1635-38. Background roughly sketched in. All by Rubens. From the Marlborough Collection. See p. 166, Plate ccccxxiii.

26. St. Cecilia.
Panel, 69¾ × 54¾. About 1638. Probably all by Rubens, but has suffered in cleaning. See p. 172, Plate ccccliii.

27. Landscape with the Tower of the Château of Steen.
Panel, 9 × 12. Study for the Louvre 'Tournament.' 1636-39. From the Clinton Hope Collection. Plate ccccLXV.

BRUSSELS

Musée Royal

1. Jesus instructing Nicodemus.
Canvas, 44 × 32¾. Perhaps before 1600. From the van Parys Collection.

2. The Woman taken in Adultery.
Panel, 56 × 87¾. From the Leigh Court Collection. About 1612. See p. *108*, Plate LIV.

3. Adoration of the Kings.
Canvas, 147½ × 108¼. Painted, about 1618, for the Capuchin Church, Tournai. See p. 136.

4. Jean Charles de Cordes.
Panel, 28 × 22. 1617-18. See p. 128, Plate cxxiv.

5. Jacqueline van Caestre, Wife of Charles de Cordes.
Panel, 28 × 22. 1617-18. See pp. 128, 129. Plate cxxv.

6. Studies of Head of Negro.
Panel, 18½ × 24. About 1618. Possibly by Vandyke. See p. 129, Plate clxviii.

7. Paracelsus.
Panel, 27½ × 21½. 1615-20. Copy of an old picture. From the Marlborough Collection. See p. 121, Plate cxxxv.

8. Assumption of the Virgin.
Canvas, 193 × 130. Commissioned by Archduke Albert, 1618-20, for the Carmelite Church, Brussels. Only the figures below by Rubens. See p. 135, Plate clxxviii.

9. Head of Man with blond Beard.
In feigned oval. Dated 1619.

10. Martyrdom of St. Ursula.
Sketch on panel, 19⅞ × 14½. About 1620. Plate clxxxi.

11. Dead Christ on Knees of Virgin.
Canvas, 161½ × 126. Painted, about 1620, for the Capuchin Church, Brussels.

12. Virgin and Child with Roses.
Panel, 25½ × 19. About 1620. Plate cc.

13. Venus at the Forge of Vulcan.
Panel, 70 × 78. About 1622. Figure of Vulcan added later. The left-hand portion ('Old Woman with Brazier'), at Dresden. See p. 151, Plate CCXXXIV.

14. Coronation of the Virgin.
Canvas, 157½ × 98½. About 1625. From the Récollet Church, Antwerp. Only design and final touches by Rubens. Plate CCLXXXIII.

15. Wisdom Victorious over Discord.
Canvas, 27½ × 33½. 1630-33. Sketch for ceiling of Whitehall. See p. 157.

16. St. Francis Protecting the World.
Canvas, 159½ × 108¼. Painted, about 1633, for the Récollet Church, Ghent. Only design and final touches by Rubens.

17. The Archduke Albert.
Canvas, 51 × 41½. Painted on occasion of 'Joyous Entry' of Ferdinand in 1635. See p. 173, Plate CCCLXXXV.

18. The Archduchess Isabella.
Canvas, 51 × 41½. Painted on occasion of 'Joyous Entry' of Ferdinand in 1635. See p. 173, Plate CCCLXXXV.

19. The Martyrdom of St. Liévin.
Canvas, 177 × 132. Painted about 1635 for the Jesuit Church, Ghent. See p. 170, Plate CCCCLXX.

20. Fall of the Titans.
Sketch on panel, 10¼ × 16¼. About 1636. From the Pastrana Collection. See p. 179 *n.*, Plate CCCCXVIII.

21. Mercury and Argus.
Sketch on panel, 10¼ × 17¼. About 1636. From the Pastrana Collection. See p. 179 *n.*, Plate CCCCXXXIV.

22. Hippodamia and the Centaurs.
Sketch on panel, 10 × 15½. About 1636. From the Pastrana Collection. See p. 179 *n.*, Plate CCCCXVIII.

23. Christ Bearing the Cross.
Canvas, 220½ × 138. Painted, about 1636, for the Abbey of Afflighem. See pp. 170, 171, Plate CCCCIX.

24. Wooded Landscape. Atalanta hunting the Calydonian Boar.
Canvas, 43¼ × 66. About 1636-39. See pp. 181, 182, 184, Plate CCCCLXVI.

CASSEL

Royal Gallery

1. The Drunken Hercules.
Canvas, 26 × 33½. 1605-8, but perhaps later. Touched replica of the picture at Dresden.

2. Venus, Ceres, Bacchus, and Cupid.
Canvas, 54 × 76. About 1613. Studio-piece, perhaps not even touched by Rubens. See p. 112.

3. Jupiter and Callisto.
Panel, 49 × 73. Signed and dated 1613. See p. 112, Plate LXX.

4. The Flight into Egypt.
Panel, 15¾ × 21. Signed and dated 1614. See pp. 120, 182, Plate LXXVI.

5. Bust of Man with Right Hand on Breast.
   Panel, 21¾ × 17½. 1612-15. Plate LXXXII.

6. Meleager presenting the Boar's Head to Atalanta.
   Panel, 49 × 43. About 1615. Animals by Snyders. Plate XCVI.

7. Hero Crowned by Victory.
   Panel, 69 × 103. About 1619. Painted for Serment de l'Arc, Antwerp. See p. 132, Plate CLVIII.

8. The March of Silenus.
   Panel, 54½ × 46½. About 1618. Pupil's work touched in places by Rubens.

9. Portrait of Nicolas Respaigne in Oriental Dress.
   Canvas, 81 × 46. 1623-24. See p. 148 *n.*, Plate CCXXXV.

10. Young Woman with Mirror.
    Panel, 30 × 24½. 1620-25. Plate CCXLIV.

11. Holy Family Adored by Saints.
    Canvas on panel, 101 × 80. 1620-25. Plate CCXXXIX.

12. Diana and Nymphs surprised while hunting by Satyrs.
    Canvas, 97 × 77. About 1632. See pp. 176, 177, Plate CCCLVI.

DRESDEN

Royal Gallery

1. Hero crowned by Victory.
   Canvas, 80 × 87½. Perhaps painted before 1609. From the Gallery at Mantua. See pp. 82, 83, 94, 113, 132, Plate XXXV.

2. The Drunken Hercules.
   Canvas, 80¼ × 80¼. Perhaps painted before 1609. From the Gallery at Mantua. See pp. 82, 83, 94, Plate XXXIV.

3. St. Jerome in the Desert.
   Canvas, 92½ × 64. Perhaps painted before 1609. From the Modena Gallery. See p. 94, Plate XXXIII.

4. Wild-boar Hunt.
   Panel, 54 × 66¼. 1614-15. Bought by Leopold Wilhelm at the Buckingham sale in Antwerp, 1648. See pp. 116, 117, Plate CVIII.

5. The Return of Diana from the Chase. (*Figures only to knees.*)
   Canvas, 64¼ × 71½. About 1615. Accessories by Snyders. See pp. 114, 138, Plate XCVIII.

6. Portrait of Man standing by Table.
   Panel, 40½ × 28½. 1615-18. Attributed to Vandyke by Bode. Plate CXXVI.

7. The Last Judgment.
   Panel, 47¾ × 37¾. Finished sketch for Munich picture, but perhaps not by Rubens. About 1618. See p. 126, Plate CLXXI.

8. Lion Hunt.
   Canvas, 94½ × 125. About 1618. Studio-piece, largely touched by Rubens. See p. 116.

9. The Return of Diana from the Chase. (*Figures full-length.*)
Canvas, 86½ × 93. About 1615. Studio work largely touched. Accessories by Snyders. See pp. 138, 177, Plate XCIX.

10. Faun with Grapes. (*Known also as* 'Tiger and Satyr.')
Canvas, 87¾ × 58¼. About 1620. Damaged by bullets in 1849.

11. Old Woman with Brazier.
Panel, 45½ × 36¼. About 1622. Left-hand portion of the 'Forge of Vulcan' at Brussels. See p. 151, Plate CCXXXV.

12. Judgment of Paris.
Panel, 19¼ × 24¾. About 1625. From the Duc de Richelieu's Collection. Studio-piece, touched by Rubens. See pp. 150, 177, Plate CCLXXXVIII.

13. The Miracle of St. François de Paul.
Panel, 25½ × 29¾. Sketch made, about 1632, for an unknown picture. See p. 147, Plate CCCLVIII.

14. Young Woman with Crimped Hair.
Panel, 25¼ × 19½. About 1635. Plate CCCXCII.

15. Bust of an Aged Bishop.
Panel, 23½ × 20¾. Initials and date (1634) perhaps added later. Plate CCCLXXXIX.

16. Meleager and Atalanta.
Canvas, 66¼ × 47½. About 1635. Studio-work, figures finished by Rubens.

17. The Cardinal Infante Ferdinand leaving Spain ('Quos Ego').
Canvas, 128 × 152. Painted for the 'Joyous Entry' of 1635. Chiefly by Van Thulden. See p. 173, Plate CCCLXXXIII.

18. Bathsheba at the Fountain.
Panel, 69 × 49½. About 1635. All by Rubens. See p. 166, Plate CCCXCVIII.

19. Mercury and Argus.
Panel, 24¾ × 34½. About 1638. All by Rubens. See p. 177, Plate CCCCXXXVII.

LONDON

National Gallery

1. The Triumph of Julius Caesar.
Canvas attached to wood. 35½ × 65. Probably painted in Mantua from the Cartoons of Mantegna, before 1607. See pp. 16, 94, 95, Plate XXII.

2. The Conversion of St. Bavon.
Finished Sketch on Panel, 41½ × 65½. About 1612. Ex Carrega Palace, Genoa. See pp. 121, 146, Plate LVI.

3. Apotheosis of Buckingham. (*Called in catalogue* William the Silent.)
Panel, circular, 25 diam. About 1629. See pp. 145, 157, Plate CCCXXIV.

4. Portrait of Susanna Fourment (The 'Chapeau de Paille').
Panel, 30½ × 21. About 1620. Ex Lunden family and Peel Collection. See p. 160, Plate CCIX.

5. War and Peace.
Panel, 78 × 117. Painted in London, 1629-30. Ex Charles I. and the Doria family; presented by Duke of Sutherland, 1828. See pp. 155, 156, Plate CCCXX.

6. The March of Silenus.
   Canvas, 54 × 77½. 1625-1630. Ex Cardinal Richelieu and Peel Collection. See p. 139, Plate ccxcii.
7. The Abduction of the Sabine Women.
   Panel, 67 × 93. About 1635. Angerstein Collection. See pp. 175, 176, Plate ccccciii.
8. The Holy Family in Landscape with St. George.
   Canvas, 49 × 64. About 1636. Replica of picture at Madrid. Angerstein Collection. See p. 169.
9. The Judgment of Paris.
   Panel, 57 × 75. About 1636. From the Orleans Collection. See pp. 150, 177, Plate ccccxix.
10. The Horrors of War.
    Paper attached to Canvas, 19½ × 30¼. 1637-38. Sketch for picture in Pitti. See p. 175, Plate ccccxvii.
11. The Brazen Serpent.
    Canvas, 74 × 105. About 1637. From the Marana Palace, Genoa. See p. 172, Plate ccccxii.
12. Autumn Sunset.
    Panel, 19 × 33. About 1636. Ex Lord Farnborough. See pp. 175 *n.*, 185, Plate cccclxii.
13. The Château de Steen, Autumn.
    Panel, 53 × 93. About 1636. From the Balbi Palace, Genoa. See p. 185, Plate cccclx.
14. The Birth of Venus.
    Panel, oval, 23 × 29⅝. Design for Salver made for Charles I., 1629-1630. See p. 156, Plate ccccxxiii.

Wallace Collection

1. The Crucified Saviour.
   41½ × 27. About 1612. See p. 108.
2. Christ's Charge to Peter ('Feed my Sheep').
   55 × 44½. About 1616. From St. Gudule, Brussels. See p. 109.
3. The Holy Family with the Baptist and St. Elizabeth.
   53½ × 39. Painted, about 1617, for the Oratory of the Archduke Albert. See p. 122, Plate cxxxiii.
4. Isabella Brant.
   39½ × 28½. Circa 1620. Enlarged replica of Portrait at the Hague.
5. Defeat of Maxentius.
   Panel, 14½ × 25. Sketch for 'History of Constantine' series, 1622. See p. 124.
6. The Adoration of the Kings.
   Panel, 24¾ × 18⅝. Sketch for the Antwerp picture. 1624.
7. Triumphal Entry of Henri IV. into Paris.
   Panel, 8 × 3¾. About 1630. Sketch for unfinished picture in the Uffizi. See p. 158.
8. Birth of Henri IV.
   Panel, 8¼ × 14. About 1630. Sketch for unexecuted picture. See p. 158.
9. Marriage of Henri IV.
   Panel, 9 × 4½. About 1630. Sketch for unexecuted picture. See p. 158.

10. Adoration of the Kings.
Panel, 19¼ × 13¾. Sketch for picture at Grosvenor House, 1632. See p. 169.

11. Harvest Landscape with Rainbow.
Panel, 52¾ × 91. About 1636. From the Balbi Palace, Genoa. See pp. 63, 185, 186, Plate CCCCLIX.

MADRID

PRADO

1. Heraclitus, the Weeping Philosopher.
Canvas, 71¼ × 24¾. Painted in Spain, 1603. See pp. 21, 89, Plate VI.

2. Democritus, the Laughing Philosopher.
Canvas, 71¼ × 25¼. Painted in Spain, 1603. See pp. 21, 89, Plate VI.

3. Archimedes with a Globe in his Hand.
Canvas, 70½ × 26. Probably painted in Spain, 1603, but perhaps a later work. Much damaged. See p. 89, Plate VII.

4-15. The Twelve Apostles.
Panel, each 42½ × 33. Painted for the Duke of Lerma in 1603. See p. 90, Plates VIII.-XIII.

16. St. George Slaying the Dragon.
Canvas, 120 × 100¾. Probably before 1608. Sold to Philip IV. after Rubens's death. See p. 93, Plate XXVI.

17. The Adoration of the Kings.
Canvas, 136 × 192. Painted for the Town Hall, Antwerp, 1610. The right-hand part perhaps added when Rubens was at Madrid, 1628-29. See pp. 98, 99, Plate XLIII.

18. Achilles and the Daughters of Lycomedes.
Canvas, 97 × 104½. Offered to Sir Dudley Carleton in 1618. Probably in great part by Vandyke. See pp. 131, 153, Plate XCVII.

19. The Brazen Serpent.
Canvas, 81 × 92½. Painted probably in part or wholly by Vandyke, 1617-20. Plate CLXXXIII.

20. The Archduke Albert, with the Castle of Tervueren.
Canvas, 44 × 68. 1615-20. Only face and hands by Rubens. See p. 128, Plate CXXVIII.

21. The Archduchess Isabella, with the Castle of Mariemont.
Canvas, 44 × 68. 1615-20. Only face and hands by Rubens. See p. 128, Plate CXXIX.

22. The Virgin and Child surrounded by Angels and Flowers.
Panel, 13¾ × 9. About 1620. The flowers by Breughel.

23. Marie de Médicis.
Canvas, 51 × 42½. Unfinished. Probably painted in Paris about 1623, but perhaps later. See p. 145, Plate CCXLVI.

24. Anne of Austria.
Canvas, 61 × 42. Painted in Paris, 1625. See p. 145, Plate CCLXXI.

25. Three Nymphs with Cornucopia ('Ceres and Pomona').
Canvas, 87¾ × 64. 1625-27. Bought by Philip IV. after the death of Rubens. See p. 151, Plate CCLXXXIX.

26-33. The Triumphs and Protectors of the Eucharist.
Eight sketches in colour for the Cartoons of the tapestry weavers. Each 34 × 36. 1627. 1. The Triumph over Ignorance. 2. The Triumph over Heresy. 3. The Triumph over Paganism (this one not in the Cambridge series of grisailles). 4. The Triumph of Divine Love. 5. The Triumph over Worldly Wisdom. 6. The Four Evangelists. 7. The Fathers of the Church. 8. The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek. See p. 150, Plates cccii.-cccvii.

34. The Holy Family with St. Joseph and St. Anne.
Canvas, 45¼ × 35½. 1625-28. Plate ccxcviii.

35. Philip II. on Horseback.
Canvas, 123½ × 89¾. Touched work, painted in Madrid, 1628-29, after an old picture (Companion of lost 'Philip IV.'). Plate cccxiv.

36. Adam and Eve.
Canvas, 93¼ × 72½. Free copy, made in Madrid, 1628-29, from the Titian now in the Prado. See p. 154, Plate cccxvi.

37. Rape of Europa.
Canvas, 71¼ × 78¾. Free copy, made in Madrid, 1628-29, from a picture by Titian. See p. 154, Plate cccxvii.

38. Ceres and Pan.
Canvas, 69¾ × 110. Perhaps the 'Ceres' brought by Rubens to Madrid in 1628, or possibly a work of 1630. The accessories probably by Wildens. See p. 153.

39. Sir Thomas More.
Panel, 41½ × 28¾. 1630-34. Copy of a portrait by Holbein.

40. Rudolph of Habsburg and the Priest.
Canvas, 78 × 111½. Painted for Philip IV., about 1636. See pp. 172, 173, Plate ccccv.

41. The Dead Christ on the Lap of the Virgin.
Canvas, 79 × 67½. About 1636. From the Escurial. See p. 172, Plate ccccx.

42. The Infante Ferdinand at the Battle of Nördlingen.
Canvas, 132 × 101½. About 1635. Bought by Philip IV. after the death of Rubens. See p. 173, Plate cccxci.

43. Centaurs and Lapithae.
Canvas, 71½ × 114. Painted, 1637, for the Torre de la Parada, 'Metamorphoses' Series. This and the following ten pictures designed and largely touched by Rubens. See p. 178.

44. Rape of Proserpine.
Canvas, 71 × 106¼. Painted, 1637, for the Torre de la Parada, 'Metamorphoses' Series. See pp. 112, 178, Plate ccccxxxix.

45. The Banquet of Tereus.
Canvas, 77 × 104½. Painted, 1637, for the Torre de la Parada, 'Metamorphoses' Series. See p. 178, Plate ccccxl.

46. Orpheus and Eurydice.
Canvas, 76 × 96¼. Painted, 1637, for the Torre de la Parada, 'Metamorphoses' Series. See p. 178, Plate ccccxxxiii.

47. The Milky Way.
Canvas, 71 × 96. Painted, 1637, for the Torre de la Parada, 'Metamorphoses' Series. See p. 178, Plate ccccxxxii.

48. Mercury and Argus.
Canvas, 70½ × 117. Painted, 1637, for the Torre de la Parada, 'Metamorphoses' Series. See pp. 177, 178, Plate ccccxxxvi.

49. Saturn.
Canvas, 71 × 34¼. Painted, 1637, for the Torre de la Parada, 'Metamorphoses' Series. See p. 178, Plate ccccxxviii.

50. Mercury.
Canvas, 71 × 27. Painted, 1637, for the Torre de la Parada, 'Metamorphoses' Series. See p. 179, Plate ccccxxxv.

51. Ganymede.
Canvas, 71¼ × 34. Painted, 1637, for the Torre de la Parada, 'Metamorphoses' Series. See p. 178, Plate ccccxxviii.

52. Flora.
Canvas, 66 × 37½. Painted, 1637, for the Torre de la Parada, 'Metamorphoses' Series. See p. 179, Plate ccccxxx.

53. Fortune.
Canvas, 70½ × 37½. Painted, 1637, for the Torre de la Parada, 'Metamorphoses' Series. See p. 179, Plate ccccxxvii.

54. The Supper at Emmaus.
Canvas, 56¼ × 61½. About 1638. From the Escurial. Bought by Philip iv. after the death of Rubens. See p. 172, Plate ccccli.

55. Conversation à la Mode ('The Garden of Love').
Canvas, 78 × 111½. 1633-35. Bought by Philip iv. after the death of Rubens. See pp. 62, 164, Plate ccclxi.

56. Holy Family in Landscape with St. George ('Le Repos en Égypte')
Panel, 34¼ × 49¼. 1635-38. Bought by Philip iv. after the death of Rubens. See p. 169, Plate ccccxiv.

57. Diana and her Nymphs pursued by Satyrs.
Canvas, 50 × 124. About 1638. See pp. 176, 180, Plate ccccxli.

58. The Judgment of Paris.
Canvas, 78 × 149. Ordered by Philip iv., 1638. See pp. 177, 179, 180, Plate ccccxxxviii.

59. Diana and Callisto.
Canvas, 79½ × 127. Bought by Philip iv. after the artist's death. 1636-38. See Plate ccccxx.

60. Nymphs and Satyrs plucking Fruit.
Canvas, 53½ × 65. Bought by Philip iv. after the artist's death. 1636-38. See Plate ccccxv.

61. The Rondo. Dance of Italian Peasants.
Panel, 28¾ × 43½. Bought by Philip iv. after the artist's death. About 1639. See pp. 167, 168, Plate ccccliv.

62. The Three Graces.
Panel, 87 × 71. Bought by Philip iv. after the artist's death. About 1639. See p. 180, Plate ccccxliii.

63. Perseus and Andromeda.
Canvas, 104 × 63. Bought by Philip iv. after the artist's death. About 1639. See pp. 166, 180, Plate ccccxxii.

64. Landscape with the Calydonian Boar.
Canvas, 63 × 102½. Landscape by Van Uden (?), touched by Rubens. About 1639. See p. 184.

MUNICH

PINAKOTHEK

1. The Dying Seneca.
Panel, 71¼ × 60. Italian period, 1603-1606. See pp. 19, 92, Plate XVII.

2. Hero Crowned by Victory.
Canvas, 85 × 77. Italian period, or perhaps later. Replica of picture at Dresden.

3. Two Satyrs.
Panel, 30 × 26. 1606-10. See pp. 94, 113, Plate XXXI.

4. Rubens and Isabella Brant under Honeysuckle Bower.
Canvas mounted on panel, 68½ × 52. 1609. See pp. 82, 97, 158, Plate XXXVII.

5. Male Portrait (sometimes called Philip Rubens).
Panel, 22 × 17. About 1611.

6. St. Christopher and the Hermit.
Panel, 30 × 26. Sketch for shutters of Antwerp 'Deposition.' 1612-14. See p. 102 *n.*, Plate LXIV.

7. The Assumption of the Righteous.
Panel, 46½ × 36¼. Sketch, or unfinished picture. Date very uncertain. See pp. 125, 126, Plate C.

8. The Apocalyptic Woman.
Canvas, 218 × 145. Painted, before 1612, for the Cathedral of Freising. See p. 126, Plate XLIV.

9. Christ on the Cross.
Panel, 57 × 36. About 1612. See p. 108, Plate XLVIII.

10. The Conversion of St. Paul.
Panel, 37½ × 47½. About 1614. See p. 115, Plate LXXX.

11. The Defeat of Sennacherib.
Panel, 37½ × 47½. About 1614. See p. 115, Plate LXXXI.

12. Boar Hunt.
Canvas, 79½ × 118½. Animals by Snyders. 1612-15.

13. Male Portrait (*sometimes called* Grotius).
Canvas mounted on panel, 21½ × 17¾. About 1615. Plate LXXXIV.

14. The Little Last Judgment.
Panel, 17½ × 47¼; the top added later by Rubens. About 1615. On the back an unfinished landscape. See p. 126, Plate CI.

15. The Great Last Judgment.
Canvas, 238½ × 186½. Painted, 1618, for the Duke of Neuburg. See p. 126, Plate CLXX.

16. The Fall of the Damned.
Panel, 112½ × 88¼. 1614-18. Ex Duc de Richelieu. See p. 125, Plate CII.

17. Christ and the Repentant Sinners.
Panel, 57 × 50. About 1615. Plate LXXXIX.

18. Head of an Old Woman (*sometimes called* Rubens's Mother).
Panel, 18 × 12½. About 1615. Plate LXXXIV.

19. The Battle of the Amazons (Battle of Thermodon).
Panel, 47½ × 65. Painted about 1615 (perhaps earlier) for C. van der Geest. See pp. 123, 124, Plate CIV.

20. St. Peter and St. Paul.
Canvas, 94 × 73. 1615-20 (perhaps later). 'Touched' studio-piece. Plate CXXXVII.

21. The Entombment.
Panel, 32¾ × 26. Sketch, or unfinished picture. 1615-20. Plate CXXXVIII.

22. The Madonna surrounded by Garland and Boy Angels.
Panel, 71 × 82. Flowers by Breughel. About 1616. See pp. 122, 123, Plate CXVII.

23. The Lion Hunt.
Canvas, 97 × 148. Painted, about 1616, for Maximilian of Bavaria. See p. 116, Plate CX.

24. Bust of Young Man.
Panel, 16 × 13. About 1616. Free copy of a picture by Joost van Cleef. From the Marlborough Collection. See p. 121, Plate CVII.

25. Children bearing Garland of Fruit.
Canvas, 46 × 80. 1617-18. See p. 123, Plate CXLII.

26. Doctor van Thulden.
Panel, 47½ × 41. About 1620. See p. 128, Plate CCXII.

27. The Obsequies of Decius Mus.
Panel, 33½ × 47¼. Sketch for the Liechtenstein canvas. About 1618. See p. 131.

28. The Reconciliation of Esau and Jacob.
Canvas, 130 × 110. About 1618. See pp. 132, 133, 153, Plate CLVI.

29. The Reconciliation of the Romans and the Sabines.
Canvas, 98 × 133. 'Touched' studio-piece. About 1618. See p. 176, Plate CLXI.

30. The Holy Trinity.
Canvas, 124 × 95. From the Augustin Church, Munich. About 1619. Plate CCI.

31. Castor and Pollux seizing the Daughters of Leucippus.
Canvas, 87½ × 82¼. About 1619. Plate CCXXIV.

32. The March of Silenus.
Panel, 80 × 83. About 1619 (perhaps later). See p. 138, Plate CCXIX.

33. The Fall of the Rebel Angels.
Canvas, 171 × 114. Painted, 1619, for the Duke of Neuburg. 'Touched' studio-piece. See p. 126, Plate CLXXIII.

34. The Adoration of the Shepherds.
Canvas, 107 × 106. Painted, 1619, for the Jesuit Church at Neuburg. 'Touched' studio-piece. See pp. 137, 138, Plate CLXXV.

35. The Descent of the Holy Spirit.
Canvas, 185 × 107½. Painted, 1619, for the Jesuit Church at Neuburg. 'Touched' studio-piece. See Plate CLXXVI.

36. The Earl and Countess of Arundel.
Canvas, 102¾ × 104¼. 1620. (The figure of the Earl added later by Rubens.) Plate CCVIII.

RUBENS

37. Diana Sleeping after the Chase.
Panel, 26 × 43. The landscape and game by Breughel. 1615-20. Plate CXLVI.

38. Martyrdom of St. Laurence.
Panel, 96 × 68½. 'Touched' studio-piece. About 1620. Plate CCI.

39-54. Sketches for the History of Marie de Médicis.
Made about 1622. On panel—1. The Education of Marie. 19¼ × 15⅜. 2. Henri IV. receiving the Portrait of Marie. 19¼ × 14½. 3. The Marriage. 25½ × 19⅝. 4. The Reception at Marseilles. 25¼ × 19⅝. 5. The Coronation of Marie. 21¼ × 36¼. 6. The Departure of Henri IV. for the War. 16⅞ × 12¼. 7. The Apotheosis of Henri IV. 21¼ × 36¼. 8. The Journey to Pont de Cé. 25¼ × 19⅝. 9. The Prosperous Rule of the Queen. 18⅛ × 19⅝. 10. The Marriage of the Princesses. 28¾ × 19¼. 11. The Gods in Olympus and the Regency. 21¼ × 36¼. 12. The Majority of Louis XIII. 25¼ × 19⅝. 13. The Queen quitting Paris for Blois. 25¼ × 19⅝. (Sketch for subject ultimately rejected.) Plate CCXLVII. 14. The Escape of the Queen from Blois. 25¼ × 19⅝. 15. The Conclusion of Peace. 25¼ × 19⅝. 16. The Reconciliation of the Queen with her Son. 25¼ × 19⅝. See p. 142.

55. Franciscan Friar holding Skull.
Canvas, 40½ × 30¾. About 1625. Plate CCLXXXIII.

56. Philip IV.
Canvas, 44 × 33. Painted in Madrid, 1628-29. See p. 153, Plate CCCXII.

57. Elizabeth of Bourbon, Wife of Philip IV.
Canvas, 44 × 33. Painted in Madrid, 1628-29. See p. 153, Plate CCCXIII.

58. The Infante Don Ferdinand in Cardinal's Robes.
Canvas, 46⅝ × 33. Painted in Madrid, 1628-29. See pp. 153-154, Plate CCCXII.

59. Samson Taken Prisoner.
Canvas, 46 × 52. 1625-30 (perhaps earlier). See pp. 169-170, Plate CCXCIX.

60. War and Peace.
Canvas, 89¾ × 132. About 1629. Figures touched by Rubens; the rest by Snyders and Wildens. See p. 156, Plate CCCXXI.

61. Helen Fourment as a Bride.
Panel, 63 × 52¾. 1630. All by Rubens. See p. 162, Plate CCCXLIV.

62. The Morning Walk: or The Promenade in the Garden.
Panel, 38¼ × 51½. 1631. All by Rubens. See p. 164, Plate CCCXLVI.

63. St. Francis de Paul floating in the Air.
Panel, 25¼ × 19½. Grisaille sketch with little colour for lost picture. See p. 147.

64. Landscape with Cows and Milkmaid.
Panel, 28 × 40½. About 1625 or perhaps later. See p. 184, Plate CCLXXXI.

65. Helen Fourment, with White Feather in Hat.
Panel, 37¾ × 27⅛. About 1634. See p. 163, Plate CCCXLVIII.

66. Helen Fourment, with naked Boy on Lap.
Panel, 65 × 45½. About 1635. All by Rubens. See p. 163, Frontispiece.

67. Jan Brant, Father of Rubens's first Wife.
Panel, 43 × 37. Painted 1635. See p. 174, Plate CCCXCII.

68. The Massacre of the Innocents.
Panel, 78 × 119. About 1635. From the Duc de Richelieu's Collection. See p. 170, Plate CCCCIV.

69. Susanna and the Elders.
Panel, 30½ × 43. About 1635. See p. 166, Plate CCCXCVII.

70. Meleager presents the Boar's Head to Atalanta.
Canvas, 78 × 119. Landscape to right subsequently added. Dogs y De Vos, an landscape by Wildens. About 1635. Plate CCCCII.

71. Harvest Landscape with Rainbow.
Panel, 36¼ × 48. About 1636. See p. 186, Plate CCCCLVIII.

72. The Infante Don Ferdinand on Horseback.
Canvas, 103½ × 85½. About 1636.

73. Shepherd embracing Shepherdess ('Le Croc en Jambe').
Panel, 62½ × 52½. About 1637. See p. 166, Plate CCCCXXI.

74. Helen Fourment with Black Cap.
Canvas, 29½ × 24. 1636-39. Plate CCCLII.

PARIS

LOUVRE

1. Landscape with Ruins (Palatine Hill).
Panel, 30 × 40. Painted in Rome, about 1606. See pp. 92, 181, Plate XXI.

2. Landscape with Rainbow and Shepherd playing Flute.
Canvas, 48 × 68. Probably painted in Italy, but perhaps worked on later. See pp. 92, 93, 181, Plate XXXIX.

3. Christ on the Cross, with the Virgin, the Magdalen, and St. John.
Canvas, 131 × 112. Painted, 1615, for Church at Bergues-St. Winocq. See pp. 110, 111, Plate LXXXVIII.

4. Madonna surrounded by the Holy Innocents.
Canvas, 54 × 39. About 1615. See p. 122, Plate CIII.

5. Resurrection of Lazarus.
22 × 11. About 1618. Finished sketch for Berlin picture.

6. Philopoemen recognised by an Old Woman.
Panel, 19¾ × 26. Sketch for a lost picture. See p. 119, Plate CXLVIII.

7. Study of Head.
Panel, 19¾ × 15½. 1619. Sketch for figure in picture at Lyons (Plate CLXXXII.). Plate CCXIV.

8-11. Four Sketches for the Ceiling of the Jesuit Church at Antwerp. 1620.
1. Abraham and Melchizedek. Panel, 19 × 25½. Plate CXC. 2. Elevation of the Cross. Panel, 13 × 15. Plate CXCIII. 3. The Sacrifice of Abraham. Panel, 19¾ × 25½. Plate CXC. 4. The Coronation of the Virgin. Panel, 13 × 19. Plate CLXXXVIII. See p. 134.

12. Virgin and Child within Garland of Flowers.
Panel, 33½ × 25½. Flowers by Breughel. 1621. Painted for the Archbishop of Milan. See p. 122, Plate CCXVI.

13. Anne of Austria. (*Formerly known as* 'Elizabeth of Bourbon.')
Panel, 42 × 36½, 1622-25. See p. 145, Plate CCLXX.

14. Marie de Médicis as Bellona.
108 × 58. About 1625. 'Touched' studio work.

15. Marie de Médicis.
71 × 49. About 1625. 'Touched' studio-work.

16-36. The History of Marie de Médicis.
Twenty-one pictures, painted on canvas, 1621-25, for the Luxembourg Palace. See pp. 141-145, Plates CCXLVIII. to CCLXVIII.
1. The Fates Spinning her Destiny; 156 × 61. 2. The Birth of Marie; 156 × 116. 3. Her Education; 156 × 116 (see p. 161). 4. Henri IV. receiving her Portrait; 156 × 116. 5. Her Marriage by procuration with Henri IV.; 156 × 116 (see p. 17). 6. The Landing at Marseilles; 156 × 116. 7. The Marriage at Lyons; 156 × 116. 8. The Birth of Louis XIII.; 156 × 116. 9. Henri IV. leaves for the War; 156 × 116. 10. Coronation of the Queen; 156 × 287. 11. Apotheosis of Henri IV.; 156 × 287. 12. The Scene in Olympus; 156 × 278. 13. The Queen at Pont-de-Cé: 156 × 116. 14. The Exchange of the Princesses; 156 × 116. 15. The Prosperous Regency; 156-116. 16. Majority of Louis XIII.; 156 × 116. 17. The Flight from Blois; 156 × 116. 18. The Reconciliation; 156 × 116. 19. The Conclusion of Peace; 156 × 116. 20. The Interview with her Son; 156 × 116. 21. Triumph of Truth; 156 × 63.

37. Triumph of Truth, and The Fates.
19¾ × 25½. About 1623. Sketches on one panel for two of the above canvases. See p. 142.

38. Francesco de' Medici, Father of Marie.
Canvas, 97 × 46. About 1624. Painted for Luxembourg Gallery. Plate CCXLV.

39. Joanna of Austria, Mother of Marie.
Canvas, 97 × 46. About 1624. Painted for Luxembourg Gallery. Plate CCXLV.

40. The Baron Henri de Vicq.
Panel, 29 × 21½. Probably painted in Paris, 1625. See p. 142, Plate CCLXXIV.

41. Lot departing from Sodom.
Panel, 29½ × 47. Signed and dated 1625. See p. 149, Plate CCLXXXIV.

42. Susanna Fourment. (*Formerly known as* 'A Lady of the Boonen family.')
Panel, 24½ × 18½. About 1623. See p. 160, Plate CCXLI.

43. The Prophet Elijah in the Desert. ('Eucharist' series.)
Canvas, 185 × 163. 1627. See p. 150.

44. The Triumph of the Eucharist over Philosophy. ('Eucharist' series.)
Canvas, 188 × 235. 1627. See p. 150.

45. Adoration of the Kings.
Canvas, 110 × 85. Painted, 1627-28, for a church in Brussels. See p. 148, Plate CCCXI.

46. Thomyris and Cyrus.
Canvas, 103 × 78. 1630-32. See p. 152, Plate CCCXLII.

47. Religion crowned by a Genius: Study for the Whitehall Ceiling.
Panel, 16¼ × 19¼. 1630-34. See p. 157.

48. Helen Fourment and her two Children.
Panel, 44 × 32½. About 1636. Unfinished, all by Rubens. See p. 163, Plate CCCLI.

49. The Flemish Kermesse.
Panel, 59 × 102. About 1636. Bought by Louis XIV., 1685. All by Rubens. See p. 167, Plate CCCCLIV.

50. Tournament by the Moat of a Castle (Steen).
Panel, 29 × 42. 1636-39. All by Rubens. Damaged in 1824. See pp. 63, 79, Plate CCCCLXIV.

51. Autumn Morning.
Panel, 17½ × 33. 1636-39. All by Rubens. See p. 186, Plate CCCCLXXII.

ST. PETERSBURG

HERMITAGE

1. Coronation of the Virgin.
Canvas, 42 × 30½. Probably very early work. Held by some as a copy.

2. Landscape with Rainbow and Shepherd Playing Flute.
Canvas, 32 × 51½. Probably painted in Italy, but perhaps worked on later. See p. 93, Plate XXXVIII.

3. Dismissal of Hagar.
Panel, 24¾ × 30½. About 1612. From Crozat Collection. All by Rubens. Plate LV.

4. Statue of Ceres.
Panel, 35⅞ × 26. 1612-15. The Garlands by Breughel, the rest all by Rubens. See p. 113, Plate LXIX.

5. Caritas Romana ('Cimon and Perus').
Canvas, 55 × 71. 1612-15. Pupil's work, touched by Rubens. See p. 151.

6. Deposition from the Cross.
Canvas, 117½ × 79½. Painted, about 1611-14, for Capuchin Church at Lierre. See p. 104, Plate LVIII.

7. Bust of Man in Armour with Fur Cap.
Canvas, 26½ × 20. 1615-20. Plate CVII.

8. Bust of Man grasping Mantle with Hand.
Canvas, 23½ × 19¼. About 1615. Plate LXXXV.

9. Bust of Young Woman.
Panel, oval, 23½ × 19¾. About 1615. Plate LXXXII.

10. Venus and Adonis.
Panel, 33 × 36. About 1615. Landscape by Wildens. See p. 113, Plate XCIV.

11. Bust of Franciscan Friar.
Canvas, 20½ × 17¼. About 1615. Plate LXXXVI.

12. Bust of Franciscan Friar, looking up.
Canvas, 25¼ × 20½. About 1616. Study for 'Stigmatization' at Cologne. Plate LXXXVII.

13. The Alliance of Earth and Water. (*Otherwise called* 'Neptune and Cybele,' *or* 'River Tigris and Abundance.')
Canvas, 88¼ × 71¼. About 1615. See p. 118, Plate XCII.

14. Old Lady Seated.
Canvas, 49¼ × 36½. About 1615. Plate LXXXVI.

15. Virgin and Child.
Canvas, 43 × 33. About 1615. From the Crozat Collection. Plate CVI.

16. The March of Silenus.
Canvas, 36 × 42. 1615-20. From the Walpole Collection. Plate CCXX.

17. Perseus and Andromeda.
Canvas, 39½ × 54½. 1615-20. All by Rubens. See p. 113, Plate CLX.

18. Jesus at the House of Simon the Pharisee.
Canvas, 74½ × 100. 1615-20. From the Walpole Collection. Plate CXXXIX.

19. Charles de Longueval, General in Spanish Service.
Panel, 24½ × 19½. 1615-20. Plate CXL.

20. Lion Hunt.
Sketch on panel for the Munich picture. 17 × 25½. About 1616. Plate CXI.

21. Virgin and Child (Child standing on table).
Canvas, 18½ × 25. 1615-18.

22. Triumphant Return of Roman General.
Canvas, 33 × 27. About 1618. (Perhaps sketch for an unexecuted cartoon of the 'Decius Mus' series.)

23. Adoration of the Kings.
Canvas, 93 × 109. Touched pupil's work. About 1620. See p. 137.

24-27. Four Sketches on Panel for the Luxembourg Series.
1. The Marriage of Henri IV.; 13 × 9⅜. 2. The Birth of Louis XIII.; 12⅝ × 9. 3. The Coronation of Marie de Médicis; 19¼ × 24¾. 4. Apotheosis of Henri IV. and Regency of Marie; 19¼ × 24¾. About 1623. From the Crozat Collection. See p. 142.

28. Marie de Médicis as Bellona.
Panel, 9 × 5⅞. About 1625. Sketch for the picture in the Louvre.

29. Isabella Brant.
Canvas, 60¼ × 30½. 1623-25. From the Crozat Collection. Possibly by Vandyke. See pp. 97, 161 *n.*, Plate CCXLIII.

30. Lady-in-waiting to the Archduchess Isabella.
Panel, 24¾ × 18⅞. About 1625. Plate CCLXIX.

31. Philip IV.
Canvas, 45 × 32¾. Replica of Munich portrait. 1628-29.

32. Elizabeth de Bourbon, Queen of France.
Canvas, 44 × 32¾. Replica of Munich portrait. 1628-29.

33. Apotheosis of James I.
Panel, 35½ × 22. Sketch for the Whitehall Ceiling. 1630-34. See p. 157, Plate CCCLXIX.

34. James I. designating his son as King of Scotland.
Panel, 25¼ × 19¼. Sketch for the Whitehall Ceiling. 1630-34. See p. 157, Plate CCCLXXI.

35. Susanna Fourment and her daughter Catherine (?).
Canvas, 69 × 46. About 1630. Possibly by Vandyke. See p. 161, Plate CCCXXV.

36. The Miracle of St. Ildefonso.
21 × 33. Sketch on one canvas for the triptych at Vienna. About 1630. See p. 168, Plate CCCXLI.

37. The Virgin presenting Rosary to St. Dominic and other Saints.
Canvas, 81 × 61. Pupil's work, touched by Rubens. 1630-32.

38. Head of Aged Man.
Canvas, 20½ × 16¼. 1630-35. Plate CCCLV.

39. Helen Fourment; full-length, holding fan.
Panel, 73½ × 34. 1632-35. From the Walpole Collection. See p. 163, Plate CCCL.

40. The Last Supper.
Sketch on panel, 18 × 16, for the picture at Milan. About 1632. See p. 169.

41-47. Sketches for the Triumphal Arches, etc., erected for the 'Joyous Entry' of the Archduke Ferdinand into Antwerp, in 1635.
1. Ferdinand taking leave of Philip IV. and Apotheosis of Isabella. Sketch for Gateway. Panel, 27⅛ × 27½. 2. The Victories of Ferdinand. Sketch for Triumphal Arch. Panel, 28¾ × 30¾. 3. The Victories of Ferdinand. Sketch for Triumphal Arch of Hercules. Panel, 59 × 28¾. 4. Triumph of Ferdinand. Panel, 59 × 29¾. Sketch for Triumphal Arch. 5. Design for Five Statues of Habsburg Princes. Grisaille on panel, 15⅜ × 44½. 6. The Temple of Janus. Panel, 27⅛ × 27⅛. 8. Mercury Departing from Antwerp. Sketch for Triumphal Arch. Panel, 30⅜ × 31⅛.
These sketches were formerly in the Walpole Collection. See pp. 64, 65, 173, Plates CCCLXXIII.-CCCLXXVII., CCCLXXX., CCCLXXXI.

48. Combat of Centaurs and Lapithae.
Panel, 26¾ × 38½. Sketch for picture at Madrid. About 1636.

49. Landscape with Carrier's Cart on Stony Road (La Charrette Embourbée).
Canvas, 34¼ × 50¾. 1625-35. From the Walpole Collection. See p. 184, Plate CCCCLVI.

50. Bacchus Seated on Wine-Cask.
Canvas, 75¼ × 63. 1635-39. Perhaps in part by Jordaens. See p. 177, Plate CCCCXLII.

51. Christ before Pilate.
Finished sketch, 19 × 12½. Date uncertain.

52. Shepherd embracing Shepherdess ('Le Croc en Jambe').
45½ × 36. About 1637. Replica of Munich picture with variations.

VIENNA

HOFMUSEUM

1. The Annunciation.
Canvas, 87¾ × 79. Painted before 1600. See pp. 81, 82, Plate I.

2. Lady with Fan.
Canvas, 37½ × 28. Copy from Titian. Probably Italian period (1600-8).

3. Isabella d'Este.
Canvas, 40 × 32¼. Copy from Titian. Probably Italian period (1600-8). See p. 95.

4. The Dead Saviour with Mary and John.
Panel, 41½ × 45. About 1611. Plate XLVI.

5. Man in Fur Coat.
Panel, 22½ × 23¼. 1610-15. Plate LXV.

6. The Dead Saviour with John and the Holy Women.
Panel, 16¼ × 21¼. Signed and dated 1614. See p. 121, Plate LXXV.

7. Philemon and Baucis entertaining Jupiter and Mercury.
Canvas, 65 × 74. Probably not by Rubens. 1618-20. See p. 120, Plate CXLVII.

8. Hero Crowned by Victory.
Panel, 18½ × 25½. About 1619. See p. 132, Plate CLIX.

9. Infant Christ with John the Baptist and Two Children.
Panel, 30 × 48. 1616-20. See p. 123, Plate CXLIII.

10. St. Ambrosius and the Emperor Theodosius.
Canvas, arched at top, 143 × 97. About 1619. See p. 131, Plate CLXXII.

11. The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier.
Canvas, 210½ × 155½. Painted, 1619-20, for the High Altar of the Jesuit Church at Antwerp. See pp. 134, 135, Plate CLXXXIV.

12. The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier.
Panel, 40½ × 28½. Sketch for above. See pp. 134, 135, Plate CLXXXV.

13. The Miracles of St. Ignatius Loyola.
Canvas, 211 × 155½. Painted, 1619-20, for the High Altar of the Jesuit Church at Antwerp. See pp. 134, 135, Plate CLXXXVI.

14. The Miracles of St. Ignatius Loyola.
Panel, 40¾ × 28½. Sketch for above. See pp. 134-135, Plate CLXXXVII.

15. The Assumption.
Panel, 180¼ × 117. Painted, 1620, for the Jesuit Church at Antwerp. See pp. 134, 135, 136, Plate CLXXX.

16. The Repentant Magdalen.
Canvas 80½ × 62. About 1620. From the Nostitz Gallery, Prague. Plate CCIV.

17. Head of Elderly Man, with Fur Coat and White Ruff.
Panel, 19½ × 16. About 1620. See Plate CCXIII.

18. The Four Quarters of the Globe ('The Four Rivers').
Canvas, 82 × 112. About 1620. See p. 118, Plate CCXXVII.

19. Atalanta shooting the Calydonian Boar.
Canvas, 129 × 164. About 1620. See p. 117, Plate CCXXV.

20. The Head of Medusa.
Canvas, 27 × 46½. 1620-25. From the Duke of Buckingham's Collection. Plate CCXXIX.

21. The Sleeping Angelica and the Hermit.
Panel 19 × 26. About 1625. From the Duke of Buckingham's Collection. See p. 151, Plate CCLXXXV.

22. Cimon and Ifigenia.
Canvas, 82 × 111. About 1625. From the Duke of Buckingham's Collection. See pp. 150, 151, Plate CCLXXXVII.

23. St. Pepin and St. Bega.
Panel, 36¼ × 30. About 1625. From the Duke of Buckingham's Collection. See p. 121, Plate CCLXXVII.

24. Bust of Elderly Man, with shallow Ruff.
Panel, 19¼ × 16. About 1625. Plate CCLXXIV.

25. Half-Length Portrait of Lady with Spreading Collar.
Panel, oval, 32 × 23¼. 1625-30. Plate CCXCIV.

26. Elizabeth of Bourbon, First Wife of Philip IV.
Panel, 19 × 16. Painted, 1628-29, in Madrid. See p. 153, Plate CCCXIII.

27. The Miracle of St. Ildefonso. Centre of triptych.
Panel, 139 × 93. Painted, 1630-31, for the church of the Caudenberg, Brussels. See p. 168, Plate CCCXL.

28A. and B. Wings of the above.
Panel, each 139 × 43. 1. Archduke Albert with his Patron Saint. 2. Archduchess Isabella with her Patron Saint. See p. 168, Plate CCCXL.

29. The Holy Family under the Apple Tree.
Panel, 139 × 92, formed by joining the back of the two wings of the Ildefonso altar-piece. See p. 168, Plate CCCXXXIX.

30. The Sacrifice to Venus.
Canvas, 85½ × 137. 1630-31, and therefore not from the Duke of Buckingham's Collection as stated in catalogue of Hofmuseum. See pp. 166, 167, Plate CCCLIX.

31. Helen Fourment in a Fur-Cloak ('La Courte Pelisse' or 'Het Pelsken').
Panel, 69 × 38. 1631. All by Rubens. See p. 165, Plate CCCXLV.

32. Bust of Elderly Man with Bald Head and Large Ruff.
Panel, 19½ × 16. About 1635. Plate CCCXCIII.

33. The Two Ferdinands at the Battle of Nördlingen.
Canvas, 129 × 152½. Painted for the 'Joyous Entry' of the Infante Ferdinand in 1635. Touched by Rubens. See p. 173, Plate CCCLXXXIV.

34. The Emperor Maximilian in Armour.
Panel, 55 × 39¾. About 1634. See pp. 173, 174, Plate CCCLXXXVIII.

35. Charles the Bold in Armour.
Panel, 46¾ × 40. About 1634. See p. 174, Plate CCCLXXXVIII.

36. In the Castle Park, Steen.
Panel, 20½ × 30½. About 1635. All by Rubens. See pp. 62, 156, 164, Plate CCCLXV.

37. Ferdinand King of Hungary.
Full-length. Canvas, 102¼ × 45. Painted for the 'Joyous Entry' of the Infante Ferdinand in 1635. Touched by Rubens. See p. 173. Plate CCCLXXXVII.

38. The Infante Ferdinand.
Full-length. Canvas, 102¼ × 44½. Painted for the 'Joyous Entry' of 1635. Touched by Rubens. See p. 173, Plate CCCLXXXVII.

39. Head of an Old Priest.
Panel, 19¾ × 22½. 1635-38. Plate CCCCXLIV.

40. Bust of Man with Red Beard and Gold Chain.
Panel, 19 × 15½. About 1635. Plate CCCXCIII.

41. Head of St. Andrew.
Panel, 22 × 23. 1635-38. See p. 171, Plate CCCCXLIV.

42. Bust of St. Jerome as Cardinal.
Panel, 24½ × 21½. About 1638. Plate CCCCXLV.

43. Bust of Aged Man with Long Beard.
Panel, 25½ × 21½. About 1638. Plate CCCCXLV.

44. Peter Paul Rubens as an Elderly Man.
Canvas, 43 × 32½. About 1638. See p. 159, Plate CCCCL.

45. Stormy Landscape with Philemon and Baucis.
Panel, 58 × 82. About 1638. See p. 183, Plate CCCCLXVII.

PART II.—MINOR COLLECTIONS,

INCLUDING PICTURES IN CHURCHES AND IN PRIVATE COLLECTIONS ON THE CONTINENT AND IN AMERICA

AIX-LA-CHAPELLE. SUERMONDT MUSEUM.

The Cock and the Diamond.
Panel, 39 × 26½. Painted at Rome, 1606, for Dr. Faber. See pp. 24, 93. Plate XXIII.

The Fall of the Damned.
Panel, about 46 × 36. 1615-18, or perhaps earlier. See p. 125.

Isabella Brant.
38 × 28. About 1623. Near to the Hermitage Portrait. From an English Collection.

Sketch for Statues of Albert II. and Ferdinand I. for the 'Joyous Entry' of the Infante Ferdinand in 1635.
Grisaille on panel, 15½ × 16½. See Plate CCCLXXXII.

AIX-LA-CHAPELLE. A. CREUTZER (ex Steengracht zu Moyland). Return of Diana from the Chase.

AIX-EN-PROVENCE. PRIVATE COLLECTION. Peter Paul Rubens.
Replica of Windsor Portrait. 'Touched' work. 1628. See p. 159.

ALOST. CATHEDRAL. St. Roch and the Plague-stricken.
Painted about 1623. Lower part all by Rubens. Predella below and oval above with Madonna only 'touched' by him. See p. 146.

AMSTERDAM. RIJKSMUSEUM.

Anne of Austria.
Panel, 41 × 29. 1625. 'Touched' replica of the portrait in the Louvre.

Caritas Romana ('Cimon and Perus').
Canvas, 62 × 75. 'Touched' pupil's-work. About 1625. See p. 151. Plate CCLXXXII.

Helen Fourment.
Panel, 29 × 22. About 1631. Ex Lucien Bonaparte. See p. 162. Plate CCCXLVIII.

Christ Bearing the Cross.
Panel, 30 × 21½. Sketch for the Brussels picture. About 1636. See p. 171. Plate CCCCVIII.

ANTWERP. ST. ANTONY. St. Francis receives Infant Jesus from Hands of Virgin.
91 × 69. Seen by Reynolds in Capuchin Church. Principal figures by Rubens.

ANTWERP. ST. AUGUSTINE. Virgin on Lofty Throne surrounded by Saints ('Marriage of St. Catherine').
Canvas, 224 × 158. 1628. See p. 149. Plate CCCVIII.

LISTS OF PICTURES

ANTWERP. CATHEDRAL.

The Resurrection of Christ, with portrait of Jean Moretus.
Triptych. Panel, 73 × 43. Only two figures by Rubens. See p. 108.

The Elevation of the Cross.
Triptych. Panel, centre 132 × 134¼, and wings 132 × 59; St. Eloi and St. Walburga (outside of left wing); St. Catherine and St. Amand (outside of right wing). 1610-11. See pp. 99-101, 105, Plate XLII.

The Descent from the Cross.
Triptych, Panel. 1. Centre, 165½ × 122. 2. Left wing, 165½ × 59, The Visitation. 3. Right wing, 167 × 59, Presentation at Temple. 4. and 5. Outside of wings, St. Christopher and Hermit. 1612-14. See pp. 99 *n.*, 101-103, Plates LIX. and LX.

ANTWERP. HIGH ALTAR OF CATHEDRAL. Assumption of the Virgin.
Panel, 193 × 128. About 1626. See pp. 148, 172, Plate CCXC.

ANTWERP. ST. JACQUES. RUBENS MORTUARY CHAPEL. Virgin with Saints.
Panel, 87 × 76¾. About 1637. See pp. 67, 68, 172, Plate CCCCLXXI.

ANTWERP. ST. PAUL'S.

The Dispute on the Sacrament.
146 × 96. About 1609. See pp. 98, 105.

The Flagellation.
Panel, 86¼ × 63⅜. Painted 1617. Plate CXIX.

ANTWERP. MUSEUM. (See separate list, p. 189.)

ANTWERP. KUMS COLLECTION. The Conde-Duca Olivares.
Elaborate framing painted in grisaille, 24 × 17. About 1626. The figure, founded on Velazquez, only indicated. From the Hamilton Collection.

ANTWERP. MENKE COLLECTION.

Fauns and Nymphs picking Fruit.
38 × 40. Italian period. From the Collection of the Duke of Kent.

Beheading of Baptist.
40 × 30. All by Rubens.

ANTWERP. M. MAX ROOSES. Susanna and the Elders.
28 × 40. About 1635. See p. 166.

ANTWERP. SCRIPS COLLECTION. David and Abigail.
69 × 98. About 1618. Ex Duc de Richelieu and Secretan Collections.

ARRAS. CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST. Descent from Cross.
110 × 81. 'Touched' studio-piece. 1612-15.

ARRAS. CATHEDRAL. Descent from Cross.
105 × 73. 'Touched' replica of the St. Petersburg 'Descent,' much repainted. 1612-15. See p. 104.

AUGSBURG. HEILIG-KREUZ KIRCHE. Assumption of the Virgin.
Canvas, 144½ × 90½. About 1626. 'Touched' studio-piece. See p. 148, Plate CCXCI.

AUGSBURG. ROYAL GALLERY. Crocodile and Hippopotamus Hunt.
Canvas, 93 × 122. 1615-18. Studio-piece, 'touched' by Rubens. See p. 118, Plate CXIII.

BERLIN. MUSEUM. (See separate list, p. 190.)

BERLIN. PROF. LUDWIG KNAUS. Bust of Man with Ruff.
Panel, 15½ × 12. 1615-18. See Plate CXXVI.

BORDEAUX. MUSEUM.

Martyrdom of St. George.
Centre of Triptych, 75 × 59. Painted for church at Lierre. 'Touched' pupil's work; overpainted.

St. Justus carrying his Head in his Hands.
Canvas 75 × 52. Painted, about 1636, for a church at Antwerp. See pp. 171, 172, Plate CCCCVII.

BOSTON. MRS. GARDNER. The Earl of Arundel.
Canvas, 54 × 45. 1629-30. Ex the Earl of Warwick (O.M. 1889.) Plate CCCXV.

BRUNSWICK. MUSEUM.

Ambrogio Spinola.
Panel, 46⅜ × 33⅜. 1625. See p. 152, Plate CCLXXII.

Man holding Gloves.
Panel, 42 × 29. 1625-30. See p. 152, Plate CCXCVI.

Judith holding the Head of Holofernes.
Panel, 47¼ × 43⅝. About 1630 or perhaps earlier. All by Rubens. See p. 169, Plate CCCX.

BRUSSELS. MUSEUM. (See separate list, p. 192.)

BRUSSELS. COLLECTION OF H.M. THE KING OF THE BELGIANS.

Christ Triumphant over Death and Sin.
28 × 18. Brought from Spain by Joseph Bonaparte. Ex Bredell Collection. All by Rubens. 1615-20.

Two Young Lions.
23½ × 29. Duke of Bedford's sale, 1827.

The Miracles of St. Benedict.
62 × 93. About 1639. Not finished. From Abbey of Afflighem.

BRUSSELS. SENATOR ALLARD. Chevalier Corneille de Lantschott.
Panel, 44 × 35. 1615-18. Plate CXXII.

BRUSSELS. PRINCE ANTOINE D'ARENBERG. Pieter Pecquius, Chancellor of Brabant.
Canvas, 55 × 47. About 1612. See p. 128, Plate XLIX.

BRUSSELS. DUKE OF ARENBERG.

Young Woman with Crimped Hair.
25 × 21. Replicas or Copies at Dresden and St. Petersburg. (Sometimes called Helen Fourment.) About 1635.

Jan Woverius.
Panel, 17 × 14. About 1603. See p. 91, Plate XVIII.

Peter Paul Rubens.
Panel 25½ × 21⅝. About 1631. See p. 159, Plate CCCXLVII.

Bust of Man with Ruff.
Panel, 24½ × 19¼. 1630-35. Plate CCCLIV.

Head of a Monk.
Panel, 22¼ × 17. 1630-35. Plate CCCLIV.

BRUSSELS (?). COMTE DE BLOUDOFF (Russian Minister). Bacchus upheld by a Satyr and a Faun.
21 × 31. Probably all Rubens.

BRUSSELS. F. M. PHILLIPSON. St. Peter and St. Paul.
Panel, 20 × 25. From an English Collection (O.M. 1885, Capt. Hankey). Sketch for Picture at Munich. 1615-20. Plate CXXXVI.

BRUSSELS. PROF. WILLEMS. The Fall of the Rebel Angels.
Panel, 18 × 20¼. About 1620. Sketch for Ceiling of Jesuit Church. See p. 134, Plate CXCIV.

BUDAPEST. NATIONAL GALLERY.

Mucius Scaevola before Porsenna.
Canvas, 74 × 61½. Perhaps a copy of lost original. 1620-25. Plate CCVII.

Portrait of Man with Pointed Beard and Ruff.
Panel, 26 × 20.

The Last Judgment.
Sketch on panel, 21½ × 16½.

Soldiers carousing.
Canvas, 46¾ × 59.

CAEN. Abraham and Melchizedek.
80 × 97. Work of feeble pupil, touched by Rubens.

CAMBRIDGE. FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM.

Alliance of Earth and Water.
14 × 12. Sketch on panel.

The Four Evangelists.
Grisaille sketch on panel, 6¼ × 6¼, for the Duke of Westminster's picture. 1627. See p. 150.

The Fathers of the Church.
Grisaille sketch on panel, 6½ × 6½, for the Duke of Westminster's picture. 1627. See p. 150.

Triumph of the Eucharist over Philosophy.
6 × 8½, sketch on panel for picture in Louvre. 1627. See p. 150.

Triumph of the Eucharist over Ignorance.
Sketch on panel for lost picture, 6½ × 9⅜. 1627. See p. 150.

Triumph of the Eucharist over Heresy.
Sketch on panel for lost picture, 6 × 8. 1627. See p. 150.

Triumph of Divine Love in the Eucharist.
Sketch on panel for lost picture, 6 × 6. 1627. See p. 150.

Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek.
Sketch on panel for Duke of Westminster's picture, 6 × 6. 1627. See p. 150.

Doorway with Pediment.
Design for 'Pompa Introitus' (?) Panel, 20½ × 14½.

CANNSTATT. JULIUS UNGER. The Sacrifice of Abraham.
Panel, 55 × 47. 1609-12. Perhaps a copy of lost original.

CASSEL. ROYAL GALLERY. (See separate list, p. 193.)

CASSEL. MUSEUM FREDERICIANUM. St. Francis with a Rosary.
Panel, 33½ × 26. About 1620. See Plate CCXV.

COLOGNE. ST. PETER'S. Crucifixion of St. Peter.
Canvas, 122 × 67. About 1638. See p. 171. Plate CCCCXLVIII.

COLOGNE. WALLRAF-RICHARTZ MUSEUM.

Juno and Argus.
Canvas, 100 × 137. 1611. Ex Palazzo Durazzo, Genoa, and Dudley Collections. See p. 112, Plate LII.

St. Francis receiving the Stigmata.
Canvas, 148 × 94. About 1617. See pp. 90, 110, Plate CXXXIV.

Holy Family with St. Elizabeth ('La Vierge au Chardonneret').
Canvas, 46½ × 39. About 1635. See p. 169, Plate CCCXCVI.

COLOGNE. FREIHERR A. VON OPPENHEIM.

Apollo in his Car.
Panel, 29 × 39. Design for Ceiling. From English Collections. About 1620. Plate CCXXII.

The Wise Government of James I. taming Rebellion.
19 × 16. Sketch on panel for the Whitehall Ceiling. 1631-34. Plate CCCLXXII.

COPENHAGEN. CHRISTIANSBORG GALLERY.

Judgment of Solomon.
Canvas, 92 × 118. 1618-20. Painted for Town Hall, Brussels. Good pupil's work, much touched by Rubens. Plate CCV.

Matthäus Yrsselius.
Panel, 47 × 41. About 1630. See p. 174, Plate CCCXXVII.

COPENHAGEN. J. HAGE. Man with large Ruff holding Glove.
Panel, 40 × 28½. 1615-20. Plate CXXIII.

COPENHAGEN. MOLTKE COLLECTION. Head of a Monk.
22 × 19½. About 1635. All by Rubens.

DARMSTADT. Return of Diana from Chase.
91 × 110. About 1620. 'Touched' by Rubens; animals by Snyders.

DIJON.

Christ's Entry into Jerusalem.
Panel, 30 × 32. 1630-32. Predella of the Milan 'Last Supper.'

Christ Washing the Apostles' Feet.
Panel, 30 × 32. 1630-32. Predella of the Milan 'Last Supper.'

DRESDEN. ROYAL GALLERY. (See separate list, p. 194.)

DUBLIN. NATIONAL GALLERY.

The Annunciation.
Panel, 88 × 59. Near to the early work at Vienna, but perhaps from the engraving. From the Marquess of Bristol's Collection.

St. Peter finding the Tribute Money.
Canvas, 78½ × 86. 'Touched' studio-piece.

St. Dominic.
72 × 36. From the Marquess of Bristol's Collection.

DUBLIN. NATIONAL GALLERY—*continued.*

St. Francis receiving the Stigmata.
72 × 36. Companion to the St. Dominic.

The Vision of St. Ignatius.
Sketch on panel, 25 × 22. (Called 'Flemish School' in catalogue.)

Christ at the House of Martha and Mary.
Panel, 25 × 24. Ex Pourtalès, Novar and Barron Collections.

DULWICH COLLEGE GALLERY.

St. Barbara. Sketch for Ceiling of Jesuit Church.
Panel, 12⅝ × 18. 1620. See p. 134, Plate CXCVI.

The Three Graces Dancing.
Grisaille on panel, 15 × 15.

Three Nymphs with Fruit.
Panel, 11⅞ × 9⅜. Sketch for Madrid picture. About 1628. See p. 151.

Helen Fourment as the Magdalen in a Landscape.
Panel, 28½ × 28½. About 1635.

Venus, Mars and Cupid.
Canvas, 76½ × 51½. Probably painted in London, 1629-30. See p. 156, Plate CCCXVIII.

DÜSSELDORF. ACADEMY. Assumption of the Virgin.
Panel, 166½ × 110½. 'Touched' work. About 1620. See p. 136, Plate CLXXIX.

FLORENCE. PITTI.

St. Francis in Adoration.
Canvas, 58 × 41. Italian or early Antwerp Period. Plate XXXIII.

Justus Lipsius and his Pupils ('The Four Philosophers').
Panel, 66 × 56. Probably begun in 1602, and completed later. See pp. 19, 31, 91, 92, 159, Plate XX.

Holy Family (Jesus in Cradle caressing St. John).
Panel, 44½ × 35. About 1620. See p. 123, Plate CXCIX.

Duke of Buckingham.
Panel, 24 × 19. 1625. See p. 145, Plate CCLXX.

Ulysses and Nausicaa; Landscape.
Panel, 50 × 81½. 1625-35. See p. 183, Plate CCCCLVII.

The Return from the Fields.
Panel, 48 × 77. 1635-38. See p. 186, Plate CCCCLXI.

The Horrors of War.
Canvas, 81 × 135. Painted, about 1638, for Grand Duke through agency of Suttermans. See p. 175, Plate CCCCXVI.

FLORENCE. UFFIZI.

The Three Graces.
Canvas, 18 × 13. Grisaille of Italian period. Plate XXX.

Peter Paul Rubens (without hat).
About 1615 (Rosenberg, 1602, Rooses, 1628-29). See p. 92, Plate LXXXIII.

FLORENCE. UFFIZI—*continued.*

The Choice of Hercules.
Canvas, 57 × 75. Perhaps rather by Vandyke. Plate CCCXXIX.

Venus and Adonis.
Panel, 26½ × 38½. About 1620. Probably not by Rubens.

Peter Paul Rubens.
33½ × 24. Replica or original of the Windsor portrait. About 1624. See p. 159.

Isabella Brant.
Panel, 33½ × 24. 1623-25. Plate CCXLIV.

Entry of Henri IV. into Paris.
Canvas, 149 × 273. About 1630. Unfinished Canvas for the Henri IV. Series. All by Rubens. See pp. 157, 158, Plate CCCXXXIV.

The Battle of Ivry.
Canvas, 149½ × 274. About 1630. Unfinished Canvas for the Henri IV. Series. All by Rubens. See pp. 157, 158, Plate CCCXXXV.

FRANKFORT. STAEDEL INSTITUTE.

King David.
Panel, 34 × 28. 1610-15. Plate LXV.

Diogenes seeking for an honest Man.
Panel, 12½ × 20. Painted 1610-15. Sketch for the studio-piece in the Louvre. Perhaps not by Rubens. See Plate LIII.

Sketch of 'Virgin Enthroned' in St. Augustine, Antwerp.
Panel, 25 × 16. 1627-28. Plate CCCIX.

GENOA. ST. AMBROGIO.

The Circumcision.
Canvas, about 160 × 120. Italian period. In bad condition. See pp. 88, 91, Plate XXV.

Miracle of St. Ignatius.
Canvas, 158 × 109. Painted 1620. See p. 135, Plate CLXXXIX.

GENOA. PALAZZO BALBI SENAREGA.

The Last Judgment.
If by Rubens, probably painted in Italy.

Infant Jesus and John with Lamb.

GENOA. PALAZZO BIANCO. Love and Wine (Man in Armour, Nymph and Satyr).
51 × 55. Date very uncertain. (Galliera bequest.)

GENOA. PALAZZO DURAZZO PALLAVICINI.

1. Hercules. 2. Deianira.
Each 95 × 64. Italian period.

Wladislas-Sigismund, Prince of Poland.
40 × 32. 1624.

Philip IV.
99 × 59. 1629. Full length.

GHENT. ST. BAVON. Conversion of St. Bavon.
186 × 110. 1624. All lower part by Rubens. See p. 146, Plate CCXXXVI.

GHENT. MUSEUM. St. Francis receiving the Stigmata.
104 × 76. Painted, about 1633, for the Récollet Church. Good pupil's work, touched all over by Rubens.

GLASGOW. CORPORATION ART GALLERY.

Battle of the Amazons.
Panel, 24½ × 41. Sketch.

Nature Attired by the Graces.
Panel, 41 × 28. Flowers by Breughel. 1615-20. See p. 122, Plate CXLI.

Wild-Boar Hunt.
Canvas, 54 × 66. 1612-15. Ex Hope Collection, and King of Holland. See p. 117.

GOTHA. MUSEUM.

Ascension of Elijah. Sketch for Ceiling of Jesuit Church.
Panel, 12¾ × 16¾. 1620. See p. 134, Plate CXCI.

St. Athanasius. Sketch for Ceiling of Jesuit Church.
Panel, 18¾ × 24½. 1620. See p. 134, Plate CXCV.

St. Augustine. Sketch for Ceiling of Jesuit Church.
Panel, 18¾ × 24½. 1620. See p. 134, Plate CXCVII.

St. Basil. Sketch for Ceiling of Jesuit Church.
Panel, 18¾ × 24½. 1620. See p. 134, Plate CXCIV.

St. Gregory Nazianzen. Sketch for Ceiling of Jesuit Church.
Panel, 18¾ × 24½. 1620. See p. 134, Plate CXCV.

GRASSE. CHAPEL OF THE HOSPITAL.
1. The Invention of the True Cross. Panel, 99¼ × 74½. 2. The Crown of Thorns. Panel, 88 × 71. 3. The Erection of the Cross. Panel, 88 × 71. Pictures painted in 1602, for Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome. See pp. 18, 86. Plates II. and III.

GRENOBLE. MUSEUM. The Madonna adored by St. Gregory and other Saints.
186 × 112. Painted, 1607, for the Chiesa Nuova, Rome. See pp. 24-26, 87, 88, 93, Plate XXVII.

THE HAGUE. MAURITSHUIS.

Nymphs and Cupids plucking Fruit.
Panel, 26½ × 42. 1615-20. A damaged work, formerly attributed to Van Balen. The fruit, etc., by Breughel. See p. 122, Plate CXLIV.

Adam and Eve in Paradise.
Panel, 30 × 61. 1615-20. Landscape and animals by Breughel. See p. 121, Plate CXLV.

Isabella Brant.
Panel, 37 × 28. About 1620. Plate CCXIII.

Venus and Adonis.
Panel, 23 × 32. Perhaps copy of picture in Hermitage. About 1620.

Michel Ophovius.
Canvas, 44 × 32. About 1630. From the Dominican Convent, Antwerp. See p. 174, Plate CCCXXVIII.

Helen Fourment.
Panel, 39 × 30. About 1634. Plate CCCLII.

HAMBURG. PHILIPPI COLLECTION.

Statue of Ceres.

35 × 27. Close to the Hermitage picture. Flowers probably by Breughel. About 1625. (Bought in England, 1882.)

HAMBURG. THE LATE CONSUL WEBER.

The Apocalyptic Woman.

Panel, 25½ × 19¾. 1610-11. Sketch for the picture in the Pinakothek. Plate XLV.

Roman Charity ('Cimon and Perus').

Canvas, 72 × 72. From the Marlborough Collection. About 1625. See p. 151.

Helen Fourment.

Panel, 25 × 19½. About 1630. From the Clark Sale, 1840. See p. 163, Plate CCCXLVII.

The Rondo.

Panel, 29 × 40. Sketch for Picture in Prado.

HAMPTON COURT. The Repose of Diana.

Canvas, 85 × 122. Much rubbed. About 1614. See p. 114.

HANOVER. MUSEUM. Nessus and Deianira.

Panel, 27 × 43. 1630-35. Perhaps not by Rubens. Plate CCCLXIV.

LILLE. CHURCH OF ST. CATHERINE. Martyrdom of St. Catherine.

Life-size figures. About 1622. See p. 146, Plate CCXXXVII.

LILLE. CHURCH OF MADELEINE. Adoration of the Shepherds.

110 × 78. Lately restored. See p. 137.

LILLE. MUSEUM.

St. Francis receiving the Infant Jesus from the Virgin.

Canvas, 92⅛ × 72⅜. Painted, 1615-18, for Capuchin Church. Largely gone over by Rubens. See pp. 90, 110, Plate CXXX.

Deposition from Cross.

168 × 116. Painted for the Capuchin Church. 1611-14. See p. 104, Plate LXI.

St. Bonaventura.

58 × 32. Painted for the Capuchin Church. 'Touched' in parts by Rubens.

St. Francis in ecstasy.

58 × 33. 'Touched' in parts by Rubens. Companion to the St. Bonaventura.

The Magdalen in Ecstasy, Supported by Angels.

117 × 87. Painted, after 1630, for the Récollet Church, Ghent. 'Touched' in parts by Rubens.

1. The Liberality of the King. 2. The Foresight of the King.

'Touched' by Rubens. For the 'Joyous Entry' of Ferdinand, 1635. See p. 173.

LONDON. NATIONAL GALLERY. (See separate list, p. 195.)

LONDON. PRIVATE COLLECTIONS. (See separate list, p. 230.)

LONDON. BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

Pan and Syrinx.

Panel, 24 × 35. All by Rubens. About 1620. Plate CCXVIII.

The Assumption of the Virgin.

40 × 26. Bought by the Regent, 1802. 'Touched' by Rubens. About 1620. See p. 135.

LONDON. BUCKINGHAM PALACE—*continued.*

St. George in Landscape.
Canvas, 60¼ × 89. Painted for Charles I. 1629-30. See p. 156, Plate CCCXXII.

The Dairy Farm at Laeken.
Panel, 33½ × 50. About 1625. See pp. 119, 184, Plate CCLXXX.

Jean Malderus, Bishop of Antwerp.
Panel, 22 × 18½. Doubtful, perhaps by Vandyke.

Pythagoras.
If by Rubens at all, a late work, very black.

LONDON. ROYAL COLLEGE OF MEDICINE. Portrait of Mayernius.
Ex Dr. Mead.

LONDON. WALLACE COLLECTION. (See separate list, p. 196.)

LONDON. WHITEHALL. Ceiling of Banqueting House.
Finished, 1635. See pp. 41, 156, 157, Plate CCCLXVIII.

LYONS. MUSEUM.

Adoration of Kings.
Canvas, 96½ × 128. About 1618. From Schleissheim. See p. 137, Plate CLXIX.

The Virgin and Saints interceding for the World.
Canvas, 218½ × 142⅛. Painted, about 1620, for St. Paul's, Antwerp. Lower part all Rubens. Plate CLXXXII.

MADRID. DUKE OF ALVA'S COLLECTION. The Supper at Emmaus.
About 1611. See p. 172.

MADRID. ACADEMY OF ST. FERNANDO.

The Two St. Johns.
25 × 20. Probably 1607. All by Rubens.

Susanna and the Elders.
Panel, 68 × 89½. 1610, or perhaps earlier. See p. 109, Plate XL.

St. Augustine Between Christ and the Virgin.
Canvas, 96 × 74. About 1618, or perhaps earlier. See p. 90, Plate CXXXI.

MADRID. FLEMISH HOSPITAL. Martyrdom of St. Andrew.
Canvas, 118 × 85. 1637. Principal figures by Rubens. See p. 171, Plate CCCCXIII.

MADRID. PRADO. (See separate list, p. 197.)

FORMERLY MADRID. OSUNA COLLECTION. (Bought by Messrs. P. and D. Colnaghi.)
1. Hippomenes and Atalanta. Panel, 7⅞ × 9⅞ (Sketch for Prado picture). 2. Rape of Proserpine. Panel, 9⅞ × 15¾ (Sketch for picture in Prado). 3. Venus and Adonis. Panel, 12¼ × 18½. 4. Orpheus and Eurydice. Panel, 11 × 15 (Sketch for picture in Prado). 5. Diana Hunting. Panel, 10¼ × 22. 6. Perseus and Andromeda. Panel, 7½ × 8⅝. All, 1636-37. Plates CCCCXXIX. and CCCCXXXI.

FORMERLY MADRID. PASTRANA COLLECTION. (Sold 1888-90.)

Decius Mortally Wounded.
Sketch on panel for the 'Decius Mus' tapestry series. 1617.

FORMERLY MADRID. PASTRANA COLLECTION—*continued.*

Sketches on panel for the 'Metamorphoses' series. All about 1636.

1. Apollo and Python. 2. Atlas. 3. Cephalus and Procris. 4. Abduction of Deianira. 5. Deucalion and Pyrrha. 6. Death of Dido. 7. Rape of Europa. 8. Hercules and Cerberus. 9. Death of Hyacinthus. 10. Polyphemus. 11. Prometheus. 12. Vertumnus and Pomona.

Designs for the 'Achilles' series, about 1630.

1. Achilles plunged into Styx. 2. Achilles and Chiron. 3. Achilles and the Daughters of Lycomedes. 4. Briseis returned to Achilles. These only 'touched' by Rubens. See p. 175. See also—Paris, Dreyfus Sale.

MADRID. COUNT OF VALDELAGRANA. Equestrian Portrait of Duke of Lerma.

By inheritance from Duke of Medinaceli.

MALINES. MUSEUM. Christ on the Cross.

41 × 30. From the Church of the Oratory. All Rubens. See p. 108.

MALINES. NOTRE DAME. The Miraculous Draught of Fishes.

Centre panel, 118½ × 92½. Left wing—The Tribute Money; 118½ × 41¾. Right wing—Tobias and the Angel; 118½ × 41¾. Outside of shutters, St. Peter and St. Andrew. 1618-19. See p. 133, Plate CLXVI.

MALINES. CHURCH OF ST. JEAN. Adoration of the Kings.

Centre panel, 94 × 81. Right wing, inside—St. John boiled in Oil; outside—Baptism of Christ. Left wing, inside—Beheading of the Baptist; outside—St. John in Patmos. Painted 1619. See p. 137.

MANTUA. LICEO. The Gonzaga Family adoring the Trinity.

Canvas divided into two parts. 1. The Trinity; 74⅞ × 98⅜. 2. The Gonzaga Family; 75 × 98½. About 1605. See pp. 86, 87, Plate XIV.

MARSEILLES. MUSEUM.

Wild-Boar Hunt.

Canvas, 97 × 125. About 1614-17. Figures 'touched' by Rubens. The rest by Paul de Vos and Wildens. See p. 117, Plate CIX.

The Resurrection.

Canvas, 25½ × 39½. 1619. Predella of the 'Adoration' in St. Jean, Malines. See p. 137, Plate CCIII.

Adoration of Shepherds.

Canvas, 25½ × 39½. 1619. Predella of the 'Adoration' in St. Jean, Malines. See pp. 137, 138, Plate CCIII.

MILAN. BRERA. The Last Supper.

Panel, 120 × 98. 1632. Painted for a church at Malines. See p. 169, Plate CCCXLIII.

MONTPELLIER. MUSEUM. Martyrdom of St. Ursula.

20 × 26. (As 'Épisode d'une Guerre de Religion.')

MUNICH. PINAKOTHEK. (See separate list, p. 200.)

FORMERLY MUNICH. SCHUBART COLLECTION. (Sale 1899.)

Christ Descending upon Earth.

Panel, 22½ × 16½. About 1615. Plate XCI.

The Bath of Diana.

Canvas, 59 × 46½. Part of larger picture (Diana and Actaeon) inspired by Titian, formerly belonging to the Duc de Richelieu. About 1637. See p. 177, Plate CCCCXXVI.

NANCY. MUSEUM.

The Transfiguration.
Canvas, 163 × 227. Painted 1604-6, for the Jesuit Church at Mantua. See p. 87, Plate XVI.

Jonah Thrown into the Sea.
Panel, 29½ × 29½. Predella of the Malines 'Miraculous Draught,' 1618-19. See p. 133, Plate CLXVII.

Christ Walking on the Water.
Panel, 29½ × 29½. Predella of the Malines 'Miraculous Draught.' Both pupils' work 'touched' by Rubens. See p. 133, Plate CLXVII.

NANTES. MUSEUM. Judas Maccabaeus praying for the Dead.
Canvas, 122 × 90. From Cathedral, Tournai. About 1618-20. Damaged. Plate CLVII.

NEW YORK. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM.

Virgin and Child with St. Elizabeth, surrounded by Flowers.
(Flowers by Breughel). Octagonal. Ex Schönborn Collection. See p. 122.

The Return from Egypt.
98¾ × 69. Painted, about 1620, for Jesuits' Church at Antwerp. Transferred to canvas. Damaged and overpainted.

Holy Family and St. Francis.
68½ × 81½. 1625-35. From Leigh Court. (O. M. 1870.) See p. 168, Plate CCCXXXI.

NEW YORK. E. R. BACON. Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter.
Panel, 87 × 77½. Painted about 1613 for tomb of P. Breughel. 'Touched' studio piece. From the Northwick Collection. See p. 109, Plate LXIII.

NEW YORK. W. A. CLARK.

The Repentant Magdalen.
Canvas, 69 × 45. About 1635. Magdalen by Rubens. Ex Hermann Linde and Herr Preyer, Vienna. Smaller replica of Berlin picture. Plate CCCC.

Apollo and Midas.
Panel, 28 × 54. From Edwards sale, Paris.

NEW YORK. MR. HERMANN LINDE. The Feast of Herod.
28 × 40. Late work, all Rubens.

NEW YORK. YERKES COLLECTION.

Two Heads of Apostles.
Panel, 26½ × 20½. 1608-12. Plate XXXII.

Ixion Deceived by Juno.
Canvas, 65 × 96. 1610-15. Ex Duke of Westminster. (O. M. 1870 and 1895). See p. 112.

NICE. PRIVATE COLLECTION. Judith Beheading Holofernes.
45 × 33. Hard, early work.

OLDENBURG. MUSEUM.

Nymphs, Fauns, etc. gathering Fruit.
Panel, 25 × 30. 1610-20. Fruit by Breughel. Plate XCV.

St. Francis holding Crucifix.
Panel, 43½ × 31½. Ex Pommersfelden Collection, sold Paris, 1867. About 1615. See p. 110, Plate LXXXVII.

OLDENBURG. MUSEUM—*continued.*

Prometheus with the Eagle.
Canvas, 75 × 80. Eagle by Snyders. The picture offered to Carleton in 1617. See p. 112, Plate LXXI.

Marie de Médicis.
About 1623. Study for Luxembourg series. With coronet of wheat-ears. All by Rubens.

PARIS. LOUVRE. (See separate list, p. 203.)

PARIS. ADOLPH SCHLOSS. Arion Saved by Dolphins.
Panel, 22 × 31. 1610-15. Ex Demidoff Collection. Plate LXXIII.

PARIS. CHARLES DE BEISTEGNI. The Death of Dido.
Canvas, 72 × 44. 1630-35. Plate CCCLVII.

PARIS. F. BISCHOFFSHEIM. The Baptism of Constantine.
Panel, 18½ × 21½. Sketch, from the Orleans Gallery, for one of the 'Constantine' Series of 1622. Plate CCXXXIII.

PARIS. MESSRS. DURAND-RUEL. Ambrogio Spinola.
Bust. Study from life. About 1625. See p. 152, Plate CCLXXIII.

PARIS. DREYFUS SALE, 1889. 1. The Wrath of Achilles against Agamemnon. 2. The Death of Achilles.
Both from the Pastrana Collection. Designs on panel for the 'Achilles' series. About 1630.

PARIS. M. JULES FÉRAL. The Drunkenness of Lot.
Canvas, 72 × 84. From Blenheim. 'Touched' work. About 1610. See pp. 109, 112, 151, Plate XLI.

PARIS. LÉON GAUCHEZ (LEROI) COLLECTION (dispersed 1907).
Triptych. Panel, 26 × 20 and 26 × 10½. Finished sketch for 'Élevation of Cross.' Ex Alfred Buckley (O.M. 1882).

PARIS. EX KANN COLLECTION (dispersed 1908, now mostly at Messrs. Duveen).

Madonna (Child Embracing Mother).
Panel, 40 × 30. About 1615. Replica of Hermitage Madonna.

So-called Portrait of Prince Frederick Henry.
Panel, 28 × 20. About 1635. Plate CCCXCV.

Thomas Parr.
Panel, 27½ × 19¾. 'At age of 142 years.'

Meleager presents Boar to Atalanta.
Panel, 52 × 41. From Blenheim.

PARIS. BARON EDMOND DE ROTHSCHILD.

Peter van Hecke. (This and the following perhaps rather by Vandyke.)
Panel, 45 × 36. 1618-20. See pp. 128, 160, Plate CCX.

Clara Fourment, wife of Peter van Hecke.
Panel, 45 × 36. 1618-20. See pp. 128, 160, Plate CCXI.

Three Girls gathering Fruit ('L'Abondance').
Canvas, 90 × 88. 1630-35. From the Blenheim Collection. Accessories by Wildens and Snyders. See p. 176, Plate CCCLXIII.

Conversation à la Mode.
Panel, 49 × 68. 1633-35. Bought, 1855, from the Duke of Pastrana. See pp. 164, 165, 176, Plate CCCLX.

PARIS. BARON GUSTAVE DE ROTHSCHILD. Lady with Veil over Head.
Panel, 30½ × 23¾. About 1630, or perhaps earlier. Cf. the Vienna 'Repentant Magdalen.' Plate CCXCIV.

PARIS. HEIRS OF BARON ALPHONSE DE ROTHSCHILD.
Rubens and Helen in Garden with Child in Leading Strings.
Panel, 80 × 69. About 1635. From the Blenheim Collection. See pp. 163, 164, Plate CCCXLIX.

Helen Fourment followed by her Page.
Panel, 78 × 48. 1636-39. From the Blenheim Collection. See pp. 163, 164, Plate CCCLIII.

PARIS. SCHNEIDER COLLECTION. Holy Family.
Canvas, 54 × 42.

PARIS. Formerly SEDELMEYER GALLERY.
Bust of Genoese Gentleman.
Panel, 24 × 19¼. Probably 1607. Plate XXXII.

Christ Triumphant over Death and Sin.
72 × 100. Painted for a tomb in St. Walburga. From an English Collection. 1615-20.

Alliance of Earth and Water ('Tiger and Abundance').
80 × 62. Belonged formerly to Sir T. Lawrence. Italian period.

PARIS. Bought at the Königswarter Sale, 1906. Frédéric de Marselaer.
Panel, 26 × 20. About 1630. See p. 174, Plate CCCXXVI.

PAU. MUSEUM. 1. Thetis receiving from Vulcan the Arms of Achilles. 2. Death of Hector.
Presented by the Dowager Duchess of Pastrana. From the 'Achilles' series. Probably 1630. Only 'touched' by Rubens. See p. 175.

PHILADELPHIA. J. G. JOHNSON. The Vision of the Monogram of Christ.
Panel, 17½ × 21½. Sketch for one of the 'Constantine' Series of 1622. From the Orleans Gallery. Plate CCXXXII.

PHILADELPHIA. RODMAN WANEMAKER.
Marriage of St. Catherine.
Canvas, 30¼ × 44. Early work. Formerly belonged to the Duke of Sutherland. Ex Sir Charles Robinson. See p. 94, Plate IV.

Two Boy Angels with a Garland of Fruit.
Canvas, 52 × 57. 1615-25. Attribution doubtful.

POTSDAM. PICTURE GALLERY, SANSSOUCI.
Holy Family with Cradle.
About 70 × 60. 1612-15. Gone over in parts by Rubens.

The Birth of Venus.
Canvas, 88 × 98. About 1615. Studio-piece worked on by Rubens. Plate CV.

Orpheus and Eurydice.
Panel, 31½ × 22. 1630-40. Little by Rubens. Plate CCCCI.

The Dying Cleopatra (*otherwise* 'Sophonisba').
Panel, 43 × 38. About 1615. Doubtful work, but Dr. Bode accepts it as by Rubens. Plate XCVI.

Holy Family with Lamb and Basket.
Panel, 67 × 50. 1615-20. Essentially Rubens's work. Plate CXXXII.

POTSDAM. PICTURE GALLERY, SANSSOUCI—*continued.*

Head of Emperor Augustus.
Panel, 26½ × 20. Signed and dated 1619. Plate CCXIV.

Meleager and Atalanta.
1620-25. Gone over by Rubens.

Girls Bathing (Portion of a 'Diana and Callisto').
Panel, 32 × 23. About 1637. Upper part and sides added in eighteenth century. See p. 176, Plate CCCCXXIV.

Discovery of Romulus and Remus.
About 1630. All by Rubens. See p. 176.

PRAGUE. NOSTITZ PALACE.

Ambrogio Spinola. (Armour on sleeves.)
Panel, 45¾ × 32½. About 1625. See p. 152.

Head of Apostle.
Panel, 26½ × 20. Italian period.

PRAGUE. RUDOLFINUM.

Expulsion from Paradise.
Panel, 19½ × 25¾. Sketch (not carried out) for Ceiling of Jesuits' Church, 1620.

Martyrdom of St. Thomas. (Removed from Augustine Church.)
Canvas, 149⅝ × 92½. Front figure by Rubens; the rest 'touched.' About 1638. See p. 171, Plate CCCCXLVII.

St. Augustine. (Removed from Augustine Church.)
Canvas, 100 × 69. About 1638. See p. 171, Plate CCCCXLVI.

PRUSSIAN ROYAL PALACES.

Nessus and Deianira.
1612-15. Largely 'touched' by Rubens.

The Triumph of Christ over Sin and Death.
About 1615.

The Four Evangelists.
87 × 99. About 1613 (according to Rooses, 1630). Largely 'touched' by Rubens. Formerly attributed to Vandyke.

Venus and Adonis.
About 1615. Near to the Hermitage picture.

Madonna and Child.
About 1615. The picture (with the Virgin squirting milk) copied in 1621 by Anna Roemer Vischer.

Adoration of Kings.
Large early work in the Neues Palais, Potsdam. Largely 'touched' by Rubens.

Madonna in Glory.
1620-25. Part of a large picture from a Brussels Church.

Mars and Venus. (Königsberg Castle.)
1620-25.

LISTS OF PICTURES

ROME. CHIESA NUOVA. 1. Angels Adoring Madonna. 2. St. Gregory and other Saints. 3. St. Domitilla and other Saints.
On slate. Centre slab about 170 × 100. Painted in Rome, 1608. See pp. 26, 87-88, Plates XXVIII. and XXIX.

ROME. ACADEMY OF ST. LUKE. Nymphs Crowning Goddess of Abundance.
Panel, 14½ × 20. Date uncertain. Thinly painted sketch. Plate XCII.

ROME. GALLERY OF THE CAPITOL. Romulus and Remus.
Canvas, 82½ × 83½. About 1607, or perhaps later. See pp. 93, 94, 181. Plate XXXVI.

ROME. VILLA ALBANI. Christ on the Cross.
About 48 × 30. Near to the Antwerp picture.

ROME. BORGHESE GALLERY. The Visitation.
Panel, 38 × 29. Probably Italian period. See p. 103, Plate XXIV.

ROME. PALAZZO CORSINI. Lion and Tiger Hunt.
Perhaps before 1608. See p. 116.

ROME. PALAZZO ROSPIGLIOSI. Christ and the Twelve Apostles.
Thirteen Panels, Studio work. 1618.

ROUEN. Adoration of Shepherds.
134 × 90. About 1620. Pupils' work, 'touched' by Rubens. See p. 137.

ST. OMER. CATHEDRAL. Descent from Cross.
About 160 × 120. Repainted and spoilt. 1612-15. See p. 104.

ST. PETERSBURG. ACADEMY. Ecce Homo.
60 × 40. Italian period; in style of Caravaggio.

ST. PETERSBURG. HERMITAGE. (See separate list, p. 205.)

ST. PETERSBURG. LEUCHTENBERG COLLECTION. Ambrogio Spinola.
About 1625. See p. 152.

ST. PETERSBURG. STROGANOFF COLLECTION. Rubens with his Young Son, who grasps his right hand.
About 1628. 50 × 43.

SCHWERIN. The Drunkenness of Lot.
About 1610.

STOCKHOLM. ROYAL MUSEUM.

Bacchanal.
Canvas, 79 × 85. Copy from Titian, made in Rome about 1607. See pp. 95, 154.

The Offering to Venus.
Canvas, 77 × 82¼. Copy from Titian, made in Rome about 1607. See pp. 95, 154.

Susanna and the Elders.
Panel, 26 × 20. Dated 1614. See p. 109, Plate LXVIII.

Erichthonius in his Cradle.
12¼ × 13. Sketch on panel.

The Three Graces.
Canvas, 44 × 25. Figures by Rubens. Fruit by Breughel. About 1620. See p. 122, Plate CCCCLXIX.

Susanna and the Elders.
Canvas, 87 × 84¼. About 1620. Much repainted.

STOCKHOLM. ROYAL MUSEUM—*continued.*

Samson and the Lion.
Sketch on panel, $13\frac{3}{4} \times 18$. About 1625. Plate CCLXXXII.

Mercury quitting Antwerp.
Canvas, $114\frac{1}{2} \times 55$. For the 'Joyous Entry' of Ferdinand in 1635. From design by Rubens. See p. 173.

STRASSBURG. COLLECTION SCHRAKNER. Rape of Proserpine.
15×26. Sketch for the picture burnt at Blenheim in 1861.

TOULOUSE. Christ on the Cross between Two Thieves.
Panel, 115×75. About 1613. From Capuchin Church, Antwerp. Sketchy work, in bad condition. Plate LXII.

TOURNAI. CATHEDRAL. Purgatory.
About 120×90. 1618-20. Damaged work. (Companion to 'Maccabaeus' at Nantes.)

TOURS.

Alexandre Jean Goubau and his Wife kneeling before the Madonna.
48×32. Formerly in Antwerp Cathedral. Sent to Tours as a Portrait of Plantin. About 1615.

Hero Crowned by Victory.
80×96. 'Touched' work of about 1625. Ex Duc de Richelieu.

TURIN. Resurrection of Lazarus.
Probably of Italian period.

VALENCIENNES. MUSEUM.

Descent from the Cross.
Much repainted. 1612-15. See p. 104.

Triptych of St. Stephen.
Centre panel, Martyrdom of the Saint; 174×111. Left wing—Stephen Preaching. Right wing—Burial. Lower figures all by Rubens. 1619-20. From Abbey of St. Amand.

VENICE. PRINCE GIOVANELLI. The Presentation in the Temple.
Sketch on panel for wing of the Antwerp 'Descent.'

VIENNA. ACADEMY.

Christ at the House of Simon.
Panel, 12×16. About 1618. Sketch for the picture in the Hermitage.

The Three Graces.
Panel, 47×39. 1618-20. The flowers by Breughel. See p. 122, Plate CCXVII.

Christ Bearing the Cross.
Panel, 25×19. Sketch for the Brussels picture. See p. 171.

Queen Esther.
Panel, $19\frac{1}{4} \times 22\frac{1}{4}$. Sketch for ceiling of Jesuits' Church. 1620. See p. 134, Plate CXCI.

The Annunciation.
Panel, 12×17. Sketch for ceiling of Jesuits' Church. 1620. See p. 134, Plate CXCII.

Adoration of Shepherds.
Panel, $12\frac{1}{2} \times 18\frac{1}{2}$. Sketch for the ceiling of Jesuits' Church. 1620. See pp. 134, 138, Plate CXCII.

VIENNA. ACADEMY—*continued.*

Ascension of Christ.
Panel, 13 × 12¾. Sketch for ceiling of Jesuits' Church. 1620. See p. 134, Plate CXCIII.

St. Cecilia.
Panel, 11 × 17. Sketch for ceiling of Jesuits' Church. 1620. See p. 134, Plate CXCVI.

St. Jerome.
Panel, 11¾ × 17¾. Sketch for ceiling of Jesuits' Church. 1620. See p. 134, Plate CXCVII.

Boreas and Oreithyia.
Panel, 64 × 56. About 1620. All by Rubens. See pp. 113, 151, Plate CCXXIII.

Tigress Suckling her Young.
Canvas, 36 × 55. About 1620. See p. 118, Plate CCXXVIII.

Landscape with Sportsmen, Cows, and Dairymaids.
19 × 29. 1630-35, or perhaps earlier.

Two Sketches for Miracle of St. François de Paul.
About 1632. Perhaps only copies.

The Good Deeds of the Government of James I.
Panel, 26 × 19. Sketch for the Whitehall ceiling. 1630-34. See p. 157, Plate CCCLXX.

Emperor Charles V.
Canvas, 86 × 54. 'Touched' by Rubens. Painted for the 'Joyous Entry' of Ferdinand in 1635. Plate CCCLXXXVI.

The Emperor Maximilian.
Canvas, 85 × 58. 'Touched' work for the 'Joyous Entry' of Ferdinand, 1635. Plate CCCLXXXVI.

The Rondo. Dance of Italian Peasants.
Panel, 9½ × 14. About 1637. Sketch for the picture in the Prado. See p. 167.

VIENNA. HOFMUSEUM. (See separate list, p. 207.)

VIENNA. COUNT CLAM-GALLAS. Equestrian Portrait (perhaps the Duke of Infantado).
Canvas, 98½ × 71. Probably painted in Spain, 1603. Formerly attributed to Velazquez. See pp. 89, 90, Plate V.

VIENNA. CZERNIN COLLECTION.

The Holy Women at the Sepulchre.
Panel, 44 × 57½. About 1620. Plate CCVI.

Man holding Glove.
Panel, 41 × 29½. Dated 1621. Plate CCXV.

VIENNA. COUNT HARRACH. Head of a Child.
Canvas, 13¾ × 11¾. 1615-20. Plate CXXVII.

VIENNA. LIECHTENSTEIN GALLERY.

Christ carried to Tomb.
Panel, 34 × 25. After Caravaggio. Italian period. See p. 85, Plate XIX.

Tiberius and Agrippina.
Panel, 26 × 22. Probably Italian period. Plate XVIII.

St. Francis praying before Crucifix.
Panel, 31 × 18. About 1612. See p. 108, Plate XLVIII.

The Toilet of Venus.
Panel, 49 × 39. Founded on Titian. 1607-12. See pp. 82, 95, 154, Plate XXX.

VIENNA. LIECHTENSTEIN GALLERY—*continued.*

Erichthonius and the Daughters of Cecrops.
Canvas, 86 × 126. About 1612. See pp. 82, 113, Plate LI.

Bust of Man with Full Beard.
Panel, 22 × 26½. About 1615. Plate LXXXV.

Jan Vermoelen, Captain in Service of Spain.
Panel, 50 × 38. 1616. Plate CXXI.

Head of a Child.
Panel, 14½ × 10½. About 1616. Plate CVI.

Ajax and Cassandra.
Canvas, 82 × 108. Gone over by Rubens. 1616-18. Plate CXV.

History of Decius Mus.
1. Decius Recounts his Dream. 2. Decius Consults the Haruspices. 3. Decius Devotes himself to the Gods of the Lower World. 4. Decius Sends Back the Lictors. 5. Decius Mortally Wounded. 6. The Funeral of Decius. 7. Rome Triumphant. 8. Trophy of War. Canvas, 116 in. in height, and of varying width. Designs for tapestry, carried out in large part by Vandyke. 1617-18. See pp. 131, 132, Plates CL.-CLV.

Apollo expelling Diana.
Panel, 22 × 37. About 1625. Design for ceiling. See p. 143, Plate CCLXXXVI.

Albert and Nicolas Rubens, Sons of the Painter.
Panel, 64 × 36. About 1626. See p. 152, Plate CCXCV.

The Battle of Coutras.
Panel, 25 × 20. Sketch for unexecuted picture of the Henri IV. series. About 1630. See p. 158, Plate CCCXXXVII.

Henri IV. Seizing Opportunity by the Hair.
Panel, 25 × 20. Sketch for an unexecuted picture of the Henri IV. series. About 1630. See p. 158, Plate CCCXXXVIII.

Psyche Carried to Heaven.
Panel, 25 × 29. 1630-35. Sketch for ceiling. See Plate CCCLXII.

The Watering Place: Landscape with Two Dairymaids and Three Cows.
Panel, 30 × 41. About 1625. From the S. Donato Collection. See p. 184, Plate CCLXXIX.

Assumption of the Virgin.
Canvas, 200 × 140. 1638. Gone over by Rubens. See p. 148, Plate CCCCXLIX.

VIENNA. SCHÖNBORN COLLECTION (?). Faun with Basket of Fruit and Girl.
Canvas, 43¼ × 27. 1608-12, or perhaps earlier. The fruit by Snyders. See p. 113, Plate XXXI.

WEIMAR. The Trinity, with Saints.
Canvas, 84 × 57. 1615-18. Studio piece, 'touched' by Rubens. Plate CXVIII.

WINDSOR CASTLE.

Winter: Gypsies in an Open Barn.
Canvas, 57½ × 88½. About 1614. From the Duke of Buckingham's Collection. See pp. 120, 181, Plate LXXIX.

Peter Paul Rubens.
Panel, 34 × 24. 1623. See p. 159, Plate CCXLII.

WINDSOR CASTLE—*continued.*

Portrait of a Bride.

Panel, 33 × 22. 1625-30. Probably one of the Fourment sisters. Has been called both Helen Fourment and Isabella Brant. On back, sketch of 'Continence of Scipio.' From the Lunden family. See pp. 163, 187 *n.*, Plate CCXCVII.

Summer: Peasants Going to Market.

Canvas, 60 × 91. 1616-20. From the Duke of Buckingham's Collection. See pp. 119, 181, Plate CLXII.

The Family of Sir Balthazar Gerbier.

Canvas, 52 × 75. Only the central part original, and this probably painted 1629-30. Bought in Holland by Frederick, Prince of Wales. See pp. 155, 156 *n.*

Holy Family with St. Francis, etc.

Canvas, 85 × 84. 1625-35. Poor 'touched' work. Replica of picture now in New York. See p. 168, Plate CCCXXX.

The Battle of Nördlingen.

94 × 134. By Van der Hoecke, 'touched' by Jordaens rather than by Rubens. For the 'Joyous Entry' of Ferdinand, 1635. See p. 173.

Philip II. on Horseback.

'Touched' replica of portrait in Prado.

WORMS. FREIHERR VON HEYL HERRNSHEIM. Virgin and Child.

Panel, 38 × 28¾. About 1620. Plate CXCVIII.

PART III.—ENGLISH PRIVATE COLLECTIONS

ARDILAUN, LORD, DUBLIN.

Infant Jesus and John with Lamb.

Canvas, 24 × 31½. Bought Blenheim Sale. Probably copy of picture at Genoa.

Adoration of the Kings.

Canvas, 100 × 80. About 1627. Bought Blenheim Sale. Replica of the Louvre picture. 'Touched' by Rubens. See p. 148.

ASHBURTON, EX LORD. (Collection dispersed 1907. At Messrs. Sulley, 1908.)

Wolf and Fox Hunt.

Canvas, 96 × 149. About 1614-17. (O. M. 1871.) See pp. 116, 117, Plate CXIV.

Diana with Three Nymphs Hunting Stag.

69 × 148. Animals by Snyders, and landscape by Wildens. Bought from Joseph Bonaparte, 1838. See p. 117.

1. Rape of Sabines. 2. Reconciliation.

Each 22 × 34. Finished studies (with differences) for the pictures of Mr. A. de Rothschild and National Gallery. About 1635. (O. M. 1871.)

ASHBURTON, FORMERLY LADY. Peasants Going to Market.

87 × 109. Ex Alexander Baring. (O. M. 1889.) In part by Snyders.

BANKES, MRS., KINGSTON LACY.

Marchesa Isabella Grimaldi.

Canvas, 93 × 56. Signed and dated 1606. Also known as 'Marchesa Brigitta Spinola.' (O. M. 1892.) See p. 91.

Marchesa Maria Grimaldi with Dwarf.

Canvas, 92 × 54. Probably 1606. Both from the Grimaldi Palace, Genoa. (O. M. 1892.) See p. 91.

Cupids and Children Playing under Festoon of Flowers and Fruit.

Canvas, 66 × 86½. Perhaps pupil's work. (O. M. 1892.)

BARRYMORE, LORD. Six Sketches for the 'Achilles' series.

Panel, 16 × 17 to 17 × 20. About 1630. (O. M. 1879.) See p. 175.

BEDFORD, DUKE OF.

Death of Abel.

58 × 73.

The Death of Hippolytus.

On metal. 20 × 28. (Doubtful.)

Portrait of Man. (Called 'P. P. Rubens.')

BROWNLOW, EARL.

The Death of Hippolytus.

Panel, 20 × 25. From Abr. Hume Collection. (O. M. 1893.)

BROWNLOW, EARL—*continued.*

Achilles and the Daughters of Lycomedes.
Sketch on panel for the Madrid picture. About 1617.

Flight into Egypt.
Panel, 19 × 25. Ex Abr. Hume. (O. M. 1893.)

BUCCLEUCH, DUKE OF.

The Watering Place: Wooded Landscape.
Panel, 39 × 53. 1615-25. (O. M. 1872.) See p. 184, Plate CCXXXI.

Marie de Médicis (?).
26 × 20. Study of Head. About 1622.

BUCKLEY, MR. ALFRED. Elevation of the Cross.
See Paris, Léon Gauchez Collection.

BUNBURY, SIR CHARLES, BARTON HALL. Ambrogio Spinola.
Canvas, 51 × 49. To knees, in robes of Golden Fleece, with staff. (O. M. 1891.)

BUTE, MARQUIS OF.

Adoration of Kings.
Panel, 20 × 14½. 1619. Sketch for the triptych in St. Jean, Malines.

A Son of Rubens with Nurse in Kitchen, with Fruit, etc.
Canvas, 66 × 68. The fruit by Snyders. Engr. by Earlom. (O. M. 1871.)

The Temple of Janus.
Panel, 19½ × 24. Sketch for triumphal arch for 'Joyous Entry' of Ferdinand, 1635. See p. 173.

BUTLER, MR. CHARLES.

Lot quitting Sodom.
Canvas, 85 × 96. About 1617. From Blenheim. (O. M. 1885.) Probably largely by Vandyke. See p. 132, Plate CXVI.

Portrait of Lady ('Virgo Brabantina').
Canvas, 42 × 31. About 1625. All by Rubens. (O. M. 1880.) Ex Novar Collection. Plate CCLXXV.

CAMPBELL, SIR JOHN, MARCHMONT HOUSE. Sketch for Whitehall ceiling.
Panel, 27 × 37.

CARLISLE, EARL OF, CASTLE HOWARD.

Salome Receives the Head of John the Baptist.
Canvas, 48 × 45. Ex Sir Joshua Reynolds. (O.M. 1890.)

Earl of Arundel.
Canvas, 26½ × 21. 1629-30. (New Gallery, 1900.)

CARLISLE, EARL OF, KENSINGTON. Wooded Landscape with Sheep.
26 × 36. (Near to landscape at Wilton House.)

CARNARVON, EARL OF. Landscape with Rainbow.
Panel, 19½ × 25. Small Replica of Hermitage picture. About 1606. (O. M. 1887.) See p. 93.

COOK, SIR FREDERICK, BART., RICHMOND.

St. Teresa praying, with Dove.
Panel, 38 × 24. 1610-15.

COOK, SIR FREDERICK, BART., RICHMOND—*continued.*

St. Mark ('Apostles' series).
Panel, 25 × 19. 1610-15.

Arabs Hunting Tigers.
Panel, 38 × 48. About 1615. Central figures by Rubens. See p. 116.

Seated Portrait of Gentleman with Fair Hair (sometimes called Philip Rubens).
Panel, 43 × 34. About 1615. See p. 128, Plate cxx.

Wladislas-Sigismund, Prince of Poland.
Canvas, 103 × 73. Life size, on bay horse. Probably from Metcalf sale (1850). About 1624. Perhaps by Soutman.

Two Octagonal Sketches for Whitehall Ceiling (?).
Panel. Each side 8 in. 1630-33. See p. 157.

Cupids riding on Goats, etc.
Canvas on panel, 8 × 31. Sketch for margin of Whitehall ceiling.

Meleager and Atalanta.
Panel, 10 × 22. Powerful sketch; near to the Vienna picture. From Calonne Gallery—thence (1795) to Mr. Humble, and (1812) to Lord Radstock. (O. M. 1873.) See p. 117.

The Madonna with Saints.
Canvas, 89 × 79. About 1638. Studio copy, 'touched' by Rubens, of the picture in St. Jacques, Antwerp. See p. 172.

COWPER, COUNTESS, PANSHANGER. Pope and Emperor worshipping Saint.
Sketch for altar-piece.

CURRIE, MR. LAURENCE, COOMBE BANK.

Return from Egypt.
Canvas, 80 × 54. 'Touched' work of about 1614. From Blenheim.

Holy Family with St. Elizabeth leaning over Cradle.
78 × 54. About 1615. From Blenheim.

Virgin and Child.
Panel, 41 × 30. From Blenheim.

DARNLEY, EARL OF, COBHAM.

Thomyris and Cyrus.
Canvas, 80 × 141. About 1626. From Queen Christina and Orleans Collections. The principal figures all by Rubens. (O. M. 1877.) See pp. 146, 151, 152, 176. Plate ccc. Lord Darnley has also the sketch for the picture.

Entry of Henri IV. into Paris.
Sketch. Canvas, 19 × 32. About 1630. (O. M. 1895). See p. 158.

Jupiter, Venus, and Cupid.
Sketch. 19½ × 14.

DERBY, EARL OF, KNOWSLEY. The Brazen Serpent.
24 × 34. Sketch for picture in National Gallery. 1635-37.

DEVONSHIRE, DUKE OF, DEVONSHIRE HOUSE.

Holy Family (St. John kissing Foot of Jesus).
Canvas, 70 × 54. About 1630. (O. M. 1895.)

The Archduchess Isabella Clara Eugenia in costume of Religious Order.
1625. Probably rather by Vandyke. See p. 150.

DEVONSHIRE, DUKE OF, HOLKER HALL. Evening Landscape with Sportsmen and Milkmaids.
Panel, about 48 × 66.

FEVERSHAM, EARL OF. Old Woman and Boy with Candle.
40 × 32.

GRAFTON, DUKE OF. Ferdinand Crossing from Barcelona to Genoa ('Quos Ego').
Panel, 18 × 25. Sketch for the picture at Dresden, made for 'Joyous Entry' of 1635. (O. M. 1882 as 'Neptune on Car'). 1634. See p. 173.

HAMILTON, HON. MRS. BAILLIE. The Feast of Herod.
Canvas, 80 × 105. Ex Lady Eliz. Pringle. (O. M. 1878 and 1893). Only in part by Rubens.

HAMILTON, DUKE OF. Daniel in the Lions' Den.
Canvas, 88 × 129. About 1618. See p. 119.

HANBURY, MRS. CULLING. The Family of Sir Balthazar Gerbier.
Canvas, 63 × 66. 1629. (O. M. 1871 and 1902 as 'Family of Duke of Buckingham'). Ex Lord Radnor, Samson Gideon (engraved by M'Ardell), Sir Culling Eardley, etc. See pp. 155, 156.

HARCOURT, MR. VERNON, NUNEHAM. 'La Charrette Embourbée.'
Replica of St. Petersburg picture.

HARDWICKE, EARL OF, WIMPOLE.
Roman Charity ('Cimon and Perus').
28 × 40. About 1625. See p. 151.
Ambrogio Spinola.
Bust, in rich armour with white ruff and Golden Fleece. About 1625.
Two Old Men.
Panel, over life-size.

HESELTINE, MR. J. P. The Marriage of Thetis and Peleus.
Panel, 11 × 16¾. About 1635. Sketch for lost picture. Plate cccxcix.

HOLFORD, LIEUT.-COL., DORCHESTER HOUSE.
Erection of Cross.
Panel, 27 × 51. Sketch for centre and wings of Antwerp triptych. (O. M. 1887). See p. 100.
Head of Young Woman.
The Beheading of St. Paul.
Panel, 14 × 9½. 1635-37. Sketch for the picture burnt at Brussels, 1695. See p. 171, Plate ccccxi.

INGRAM, MRS. MEYNELL, TEMPLE NEWSAM. Virgin and Child in Landscape, with Baptist and Joseph.

IVEAGH, LORD. Man carrying Buck and Woman carrying Fruit.
Canvas, 48½ × 47.. (O. M. 1891.) Ex Earl of Aylesford.

JACKSON, MR., CAMBERWELL.
The Archduke Albert. About 1614.
The Archduchess Isabella Clara Eugenia. About 1614.

JERSEY, EARL OF, OSTERLEY PARK.

Duke of Buckingham on Horseback, Crowned by Fame. (Known also as 'Apotheosis.')
Canvas, 122½ × 134. 1625. (O. M. 1888.) See p. 145.

Apotheosis of Duke of Buckingham.
Ceiling piece. Canvas octagonal, 200 × 181. (O. M. 1884 as 'Apotheosis of Frederick Henri.') See p. 145.

KINNAIRD, LORD, ROSSIE PRIORY. Half-Length of Spanish Officer with Broad Hat. Known as 'General Velazquez.'
Panel, 41 × 28½. (O. M. 1879.)

LECONFIELD, LORD, PETWORTH. Two Portraits of Kneeling Prelates.
Each 76 × 45.

LINLITHGOW, MARQUIS OF, HOPETOUN HOUSE. Adoration of Shepherds.
Large picture bought in Genoa.

LONSDALE, EARL OF. Holy Family with St. Elizabeth, and St. John Riding on Lamb.
60 × 43.

LOWE, MR. DRURY, LOCKO PARK. Portrait of Young Woman in Rich Costume. Italian period.

MARLBOROUGH, AMY, DOWAGER-DUCHESS OF. Venus and Adonis.
Canvas, 75 × 93. About 1620. Bought in at £7000 at Blenheim sale, 1886. Closely founded on Titian. (O. M. 1885.) See p. 113.

MARLBOROUGH, DUKE OF. Virgin Invoked by Saints and by Albert and Isabella.
Panel, sketch, 26 × 20. Bought in at sale for £1510. Sketch or copy of picture in Brussels Church, burnt in 1695.

METHUEN, LORD, CORSHAM PARK. Fox and Wolf Hunt.
About 1617. 76 × 100. (O. M. 1877.) See p. 116.

MOND, DR. LUDWIG. Landscape by Moonlight.
Panel, 25½ × 35. From the Rogers and Dudley Collections. 1635-38. Plate CCCCLXIII.

MORGAN, MR. J. PIERPONT.

Anne of Austria.
Canvas, 59 × 47. 1625. Bought in at Marlborough sale at 3700 gs. (O.M. 1885 and 1903.)

Archduke Ferdinand as Governor of the Netherlands.
Canvas, 45 × 37. Painted 1635. Ex Vernon Smith Collection. (O.M. 1902.) See p. 173, Plate CCCXC.

MORRISON, MR. CHARLES.

Holy Family under Archway. ('Vierge au Fruit').
Canvas, 48 × 64. (O. M. 1882.) Ex Sir Simon Clarke.

Charles V. Receiving Deputation from Town of Antwerp.
Sketch on panel, 21 × 49.

Miracle of St. François de Paul.
43 × 30. Sketch on panel for lost picture. About 1632. See p. 147.

The Four Evangelists.
Panel, 25 × 26. Sketch for Duke of Westminster's picture.

NEWCASTLE, DUKE OF, CLUMBER.

1. Woman with Grapes.
   Canvas, 24 × 15.

2. Woman Smelling Rose.
   Canvas, 24 × 15.

NORFOLK, DUKE OF.

Isabella Brant.
Panel, 29 × 29½. Near to the Hermitage portrait. (New Gallery 1900.)

Peter Paul Rubens.
Canvas, 29 × 22. Replica of Windsor portrait. (New Gallery 1897.

NORMANTON, EARL OF. Young Lioness Dying.
Canvas, 44 × 78. About 1618. (O. M. 1882.) See p. 119.

NORTHBROOK, EARL OF.

Abraham and Melchizedek.
Panel, 26¼ × 32¼. About 1627. Ex Julienne Collection. Finished study for the Grosvenor House picture.

The Timber Waggon.
Panel, 20 × 22. 1630-36. Ex Rogers Collection. (O. M. 1872.) See p. 184, Plate ccccxxxiv.

NORTHUMBERLAND, DUKE OF. Return of Diana from Chase.
Canvas, 74×95. About 1616. Near to the Dresden picture. (O. M. 1873.)

PEMBROKE, EARL OF, WILTON.

Wooded Landscape with Shepherd.
Canvas, 27 × 38. 1630-35. From the Orleans Collection.

Assumption of the Virgin.
Panel, 13 × 9½. Similar in design to the Antwerp 'Assumption.' Said to have been painted for Lord Arundel, but probably not by Rubens.

Infant Christ and St. John, with Boy Angel and Lamb.
Panel, 37½ × 48. 1616-20.

PLYMOUTH, EARL OF.

A Falconer returning from Hunting ('The Fig').
Canvas, 80 × 89. 1615-20. Accessories by Snyders. (O. M. 1894.) Ex Earl of Thanet. See Plate cxlix.

Landscape with Rainbow and Shepherd Playing Flute.
Replica of Louvre picture. Canvas, 46½ × 67. (New Gallery 1900.) See p. 93.

PORTARLINGTON, EARL OF. General, holding Bâton, on Grey Horse.
Canvas, 54 × 40. (O. M. 1878 as 'Duke of Alva.') Perhaps Archduke Albert.

PORTLAND, DUKE OF. Birth of Venus.
Vigorous grisaille, treated as a classical relief.

RADNOR, EARL OF, LONGFORD CASTLE.

Return of Diana from Chase.
About 1616. Sketch on panel for the Dresden picture.

Nicholas Rubens, as a Boy of Eight or Nine Years.
Panel, 49 × 26. About 1622. (O. M. 1873.)

RADNOR, EARL OF, LONGFORD CASTLE—*continued.*

Cupids Harvesting.
Panel, about 24 × 32. Landscape by Van Uden. (O. M. 1876.)

ROBINSON, SIR CHARLES. Landscape with Wild-Boar Hunt.
Canvas, 62 × 80. 1612-15. In part by Rubens.

ROSEBERY, EARL OF. Loves of the Centaurs.
Panel, 20 × 28. From the Hamilton Collection. About 1635. See p. 176. Plate CCCCVI.

ROTHSCHILD, MR. ALFRED DE:

Meleager and Atalanta.
29 × 21. About 1635. Finished sketch for picture at Dresden.

1. Rape of Sabines. 2. Reconciliation.
Panel, each 21½ × 33½. Fine, late works, loosely treated. See p. 176. Plates CCCLXVI., CCCLXVII.

ROTHSCHILD FAMILY (FERD. ROTHSCHILD, O. M. 1877). Virgin with Child standing on Lap.
Panel, 38 × 30. From the R. Forster Collection.

RUTLAND, DUKE OF, BELVOIR CASTLE.

Erichthonius in his Cradle.
Seen by Reynolds in Dannoot Collection, Brussels. See p. 113.

Hercules and Antaeus.
Panel, 25½ × 19½. Finished study. Rather by Vandyke. About 1620. (O. M. 1907.)

'Le Croc en Jambe.'
Replica of the picture at Munich.

Crowning of St. Catherine.
102 × 85. Painted 1633 for Church of Augustinians, Malines. See p. 169.

SANDARS, MRS. Meeting of Esau and Jacob.
Panel, 19 × 15½. Sketch for the Munich picture. (O.M. 1907.)

SPENCER, EARL, ALTHORP.

Sacrifice of the Ancient Law.
Sketch for one of the 'Eucharist' series. 1627.

Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand.
Painted 1629. Replica of the Munich portrait. (O. M. 1870.)

A Daughter of Balthazar Gerbier.
Canvas, 28 × 21. 1629. Plate CCCXIX.

SUTHERLAND, EX DUKE OF, STAFFORD HOUSE. (At Messrs. Duveen, 1908.) Virgin and Child Seated in Landscape with St. Joseph, etc.
Canvas, 63 × 58. About 1636. (O. M. 1875.) Plate CCCCLXVIII.

STRATHMORE, EARL OF, STREATLAM CASTLE. Portrait of Man.

WARWICK, EARL OF.

St. Ignatius.
85 × 53. About 1620. • Painted for Jesuits' Church, Brussels. Manchester 1857.)

Ambrogio Spinola.
Canvas, 44 × 34. Probably 1625. To knees, with bâton. (O. M. 1871.)

Rubens's Daughter Playing with Goldfinch in Garden.
54 × 43. Bought 1840 at Averschott Sale. (Manchester 1887.)

WELLINGTON, DUKE OF. Bust of Old Man.
Panel, 19¼ × 14. 1630-35. Plate CCCLV.

WESTMINSTER, DUKE OF.

Pausias and Glycera.
Canvas, 79 × 74. Painted probably before 1600. (O. M. 1871.) See p. 82.

The Dismissal of Hagar.
Panel, 29 × 41. About 1615. (O. M. 1871.) See p. 109.

Abraham and Melchizedek.
Canvas, 168 × 228. Eucharist Series. 1627. See p. 150. Plate CCCI.

Gathering of Manna.
Canvas, 192 × 163. Eucharist Series. 1627. See p. 150.

The Four Evangelists.
Canvas, 168 × 174. Eucharist Series. 1627. See p. 150.

The Four Latin Fathers of the Church.
Canvas, 168 × 134. Eucharist Series. 1627. See p. 150.

Adoration of Kings.
Canvas, 129 × 97. 1632. From convent at Louvain. See p. 169.

WILLIAMS-WYNN, SIR HERBERT WATKIN. Forest Scene at Dawn with Huntsmen and Dogs.
Panel, 24 × 35. 1630-35. (O. M. 1888.) See p. 184.

YATES COLLECTION, LONDON (formerly in). The Continence of Scipio.
88 × 145. Ex Queen Christina and Orleans Collections.

Additional Note to Text.—To Vandyke rather than to Rubens should probably be attributed M. Edmond de Rothschild's portraits of Peter van Hecke and his wife (pp. 128 and 160). The same may be said of the Duke of Devonshire's Archduchess Isabella (p. 150). The portrait in the Hermitage entitled 'Susanna Fourment and her daughter,' has possibly nothing to do with that lady.

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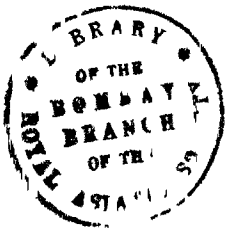

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THE ANNUNCIATION

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

BEFORE 1600

ST. HELENA AND THE TRUE CROSS

CHAPEL OF THE HOSPITAL, GRASSE

1602

THE CROWNING WITH THORNS
CHAPEL OF THE HOSPITAL, GRASSE
1602

THE ELEVATION OF THE CROSS
CHAPEL OF THE HOSPITAL, GRASSE
1602

THE MYSTIC MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE

COLLECTION OF MR. RODMAN WANAMAKER, PHILADELPHIA, U.S.A.

1602-1606

EQUESTRIAN PORTRAIT (DUCA DEL INFANTADO?)

COLLECTION OF COUNT CLAM GALLAS, VIENNA

1603

DEMOCRITUS, THE LAUGHING PHILOSOPHER
PRADO, MADRID
1603

HERACLITUS, THE WEEPING PHILOSOPHER
PRADO, MADRID
1603

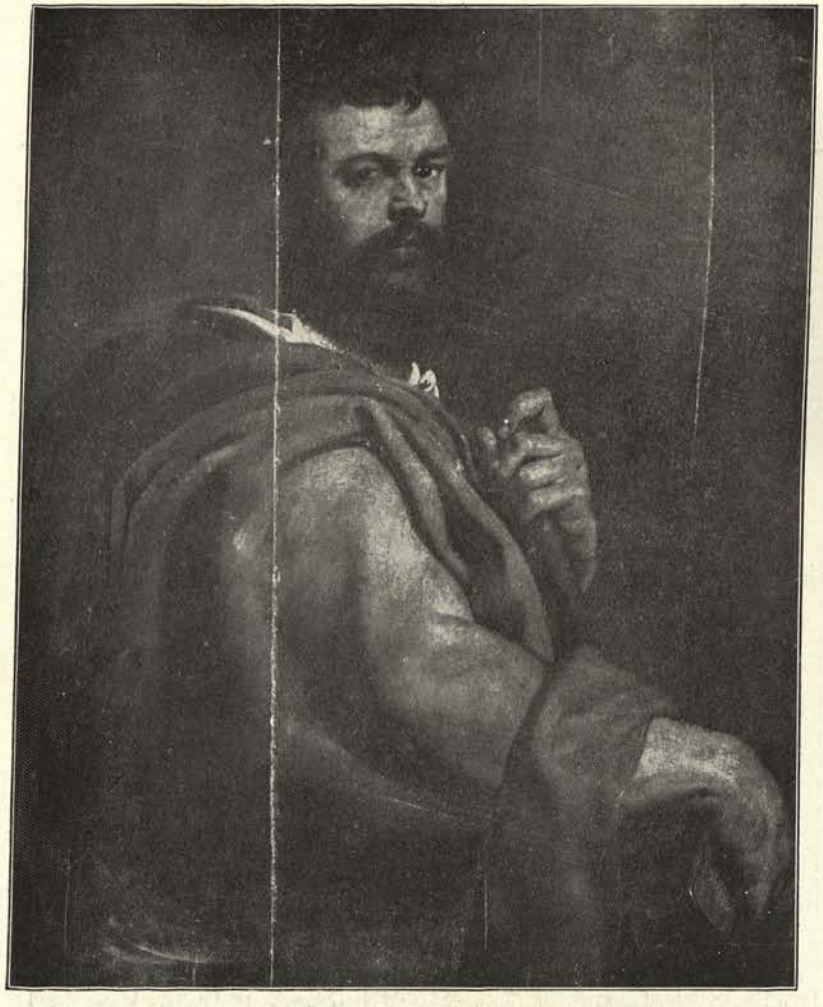
ARCHIMEDES

PRADO, MADRID

PROBABLY 1603

ST. JOHN
PRADO, MADRID
1603

ST. THOMAS
PRADO, MADRID.
1603



ST. JAMES THE ELDER
PRADO, MADRID
1603

ST. ANDREW
PRADO, MADRID
1603

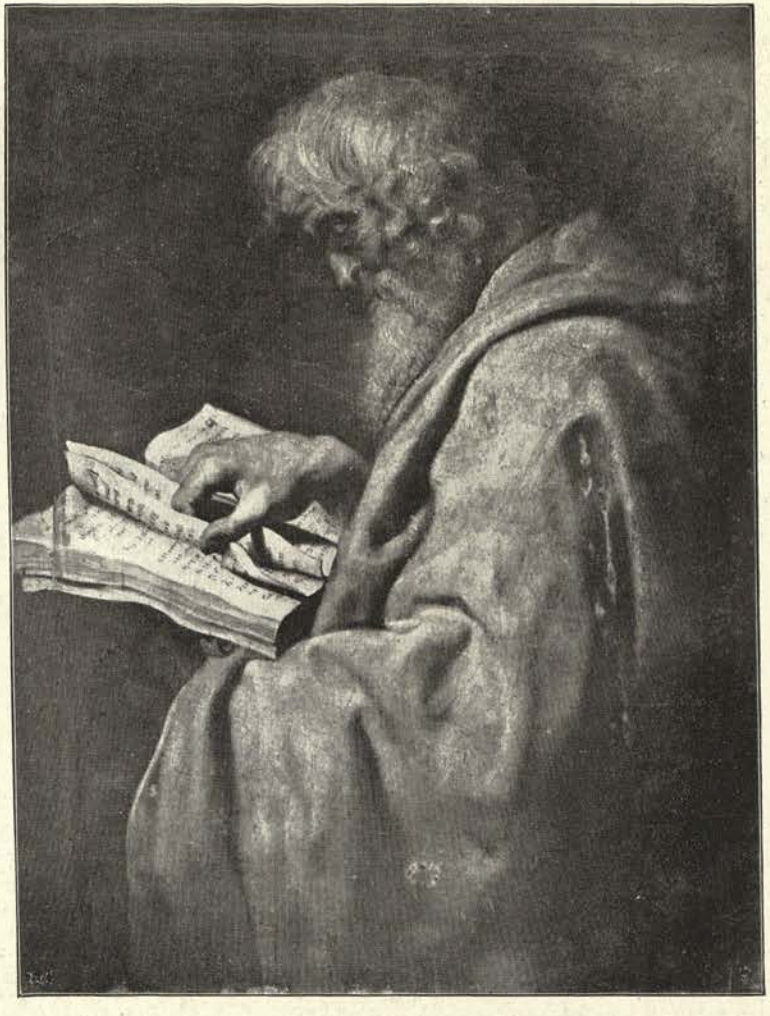
ST. PHILIP
PRADO, MADRID
1603

ST. MATTHEW
PRADO, MADRID
1603

ST. BARTHOLOMEW

PRADO, MADRID

1603



ST. THADDEUS

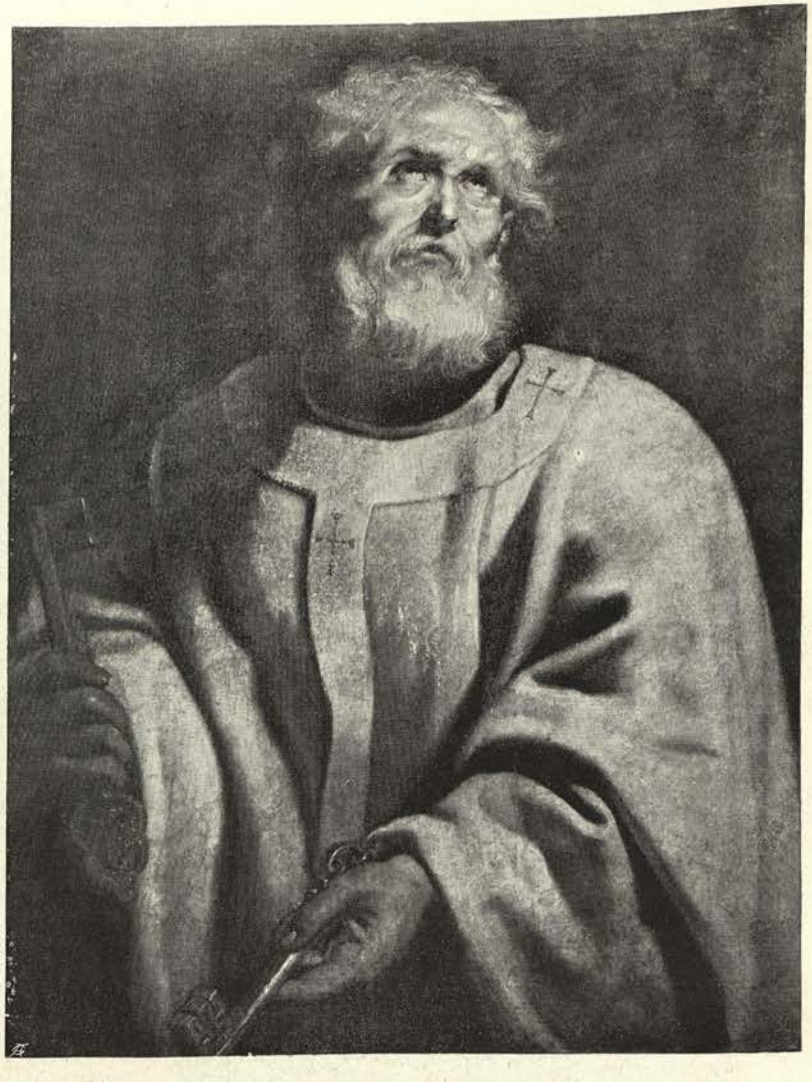
PRADO, MADRID

1603

ST. SIMON
PRADO, MADRID
1603

ST. PAUL
PRADO, MADRID
1603

ST. MATTHIAS
PRADO, MADRID
1603



ST. PETER
PRADO, MADRID
1603

THE TRINITY (UPPER PART OF PICTURE)
LICEO, MANTUA
ABOUT 1605

DUKE VINCENZO GONZAGA OF MANTUA AND HIS FAMILY ADORING THE TRINITY (LOWER PART OF PICTURE)
LICEO, MANTUA
ABOUT 1605

THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST

MUSEUM, ANTWERP

ABOUT 1605

THE TRANSFIGURATION

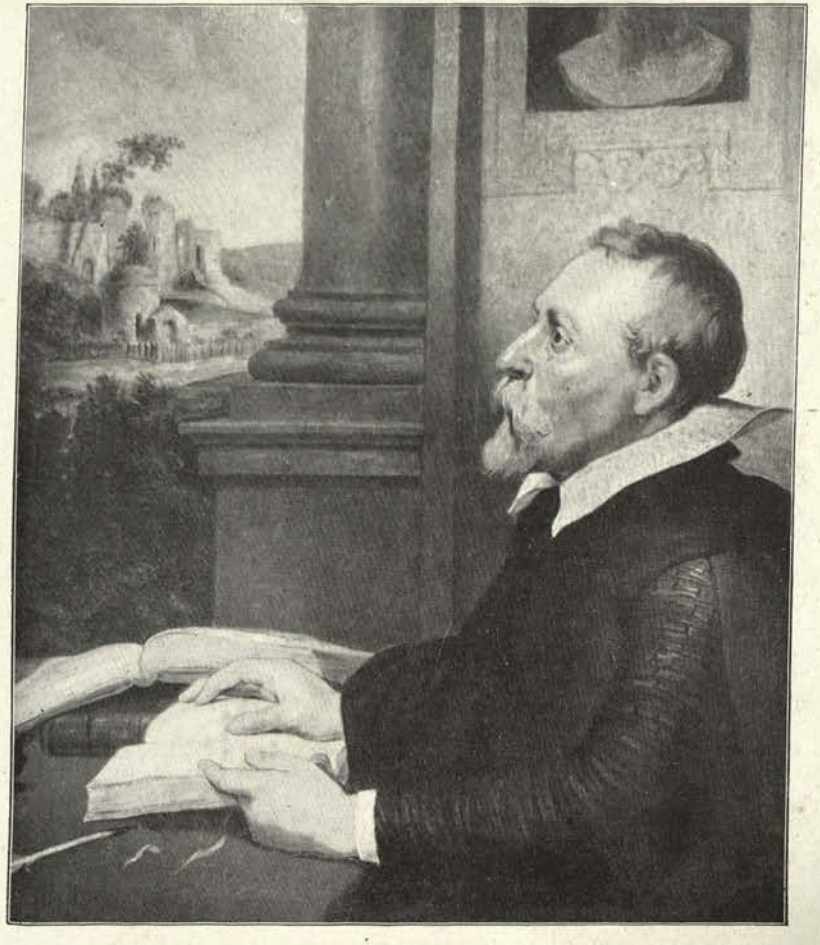
MUSEUM, NANCY

ABOUT 1605

THE DEATH OF SENECA

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

1603-1606



PORTRAIT OF WOVERIUS
COLLECTION OF THE DUKE OF ARENBERG, BRUSSELS
1602-1606

TIBERIUS AND AGRIPPINA
LIECHTENSTEIN GALLERY, VIENNA
1602-1606

THE ENTOMBMENT

LIECHTENSTEIN GALLERY, VIENNA

1604-1606

LIPSIUS AND HIS PUPILS (THE FOUR PHILOSOPHERS)

PITTI, FLORENCE

1606-1607 (IN PART)

THE PALATINE HILL

LOUVRE, PARIS

ABOUT 1666

THE TRIUMPH OF JULIUS CÆSAR

NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON

1605-1607

THE COCK AND THE DIAMOND

SUERMONDT MUSEUM, AIX-LA-CHAPELLE

1606

THE VISITATION

BORGHESE GALLERY, ROME

1607-1610

THE CIRCUMCISION

SANT' AMBROGIO, GENOA

1605-1607

ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON

PRADO, MADRID

1605-1608

MADONNA ADORED BY SAINTS

MUSEUM, GRENOBLE

1607

MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ANGELS

CHIESA NUOVA, ROME

1608

SAINTS GREGORY, MAURUS AND PAPIANUS

CHIESA NUOVA, ROME

1608

SAINTS DOMITILLA, NEREUS AND ACHILLES

CHIESA NUOVA, ROME

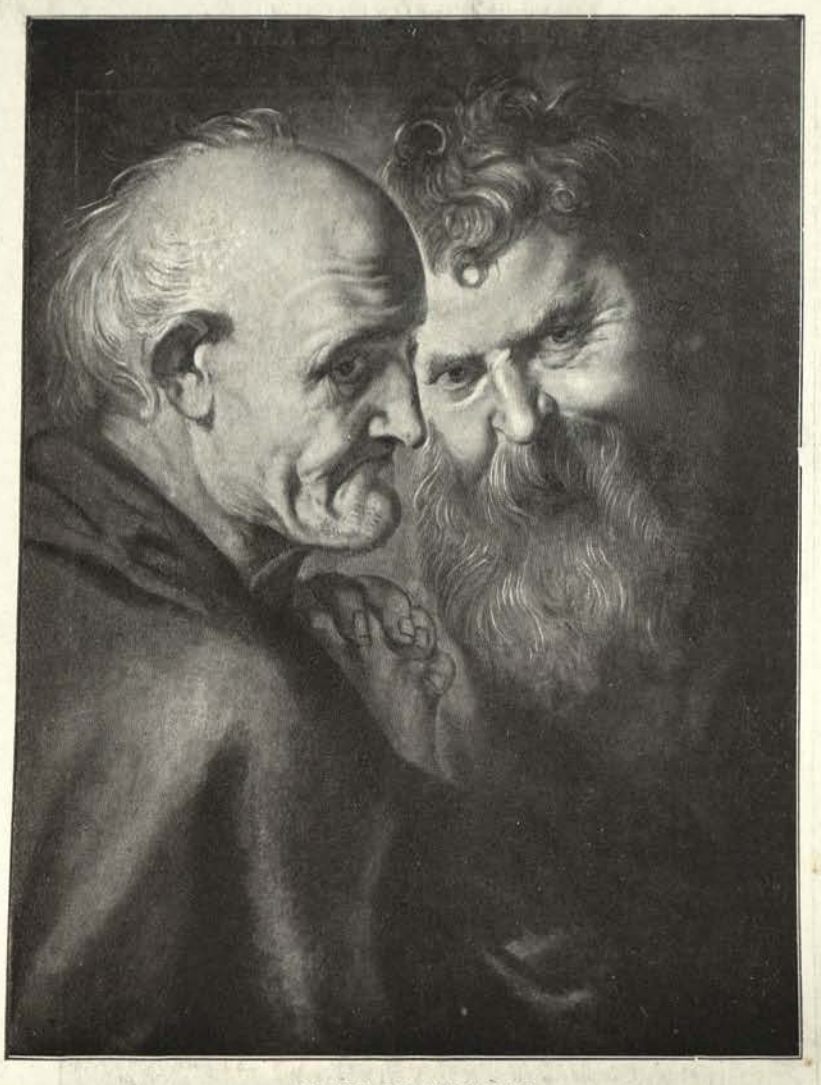
1608

THE THREE GRACES
UFFIZI, FLORENCE
1606-1608

THE TOILET OF VENUS
LIECHTENSTEIN GALLERY, VIENNA
1607-1612

FAUN WITH BASKET OF FRUIT
SCHÖNBORN COLLECTION, VIENNA
1603-1612

TWO SATYRS
ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH
1606-1610



HEADS OF APOSTLES

COLLECTION OF THE LATE MR. C. T. YERKES, NEW YORK

1608-1612

PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG GENOESE

M. CHARLES SEDELMEYER, PARIS

1607

ST. FRANCIS PRAYING

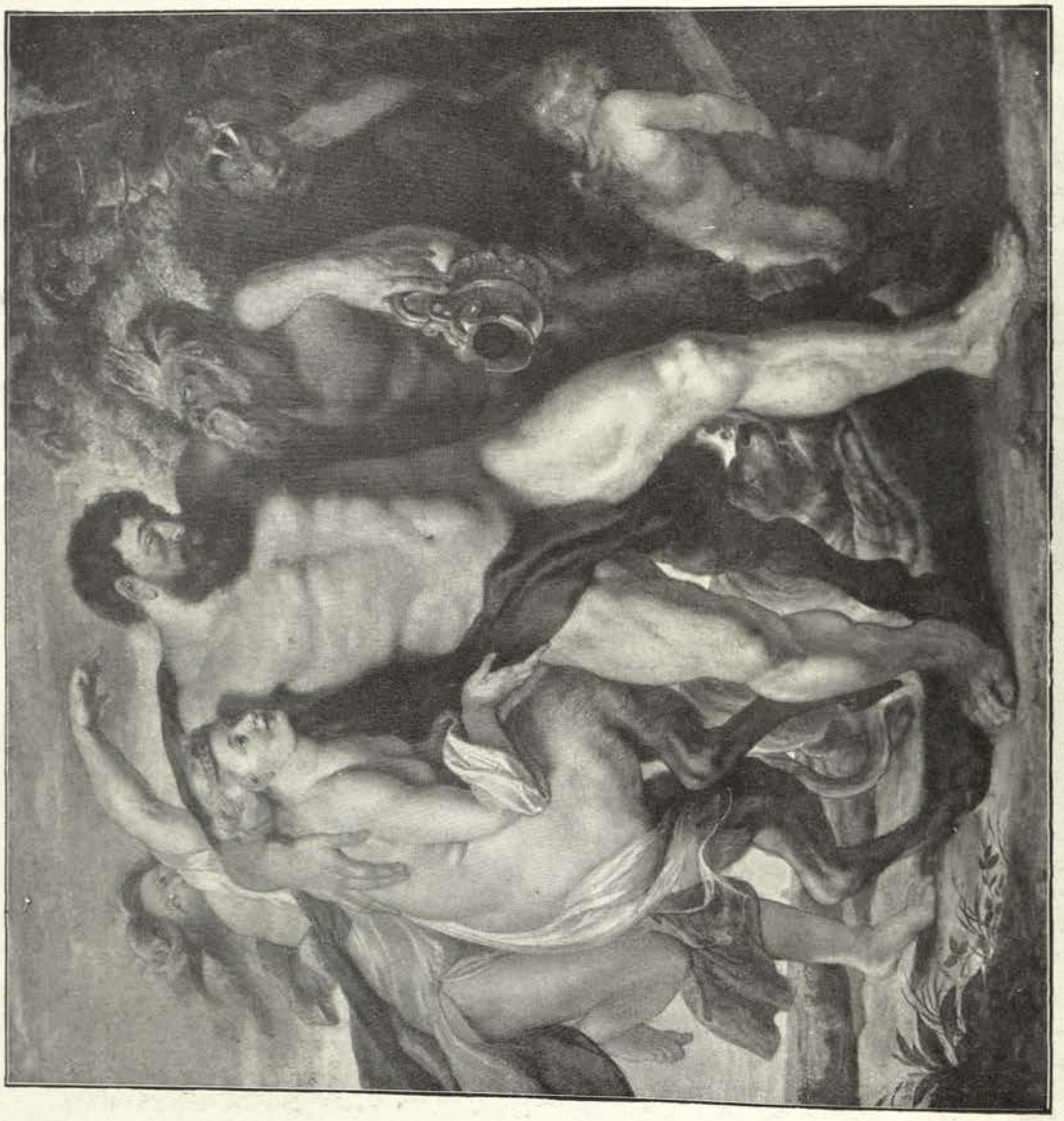
PITTI, FLORENCE

1606-1610

ST. JEROME

ROYAL GALLERY, DRESDEN

1606-1610



THE DRUNKEN HERCULES
ROYAL GALLERY, DRESDEN
1607-1610

HERO CROWNED BY VICTORY, OR THE TRIUMPH OF VIRTUE

ROYAL GALLERY, DRESDEN

1607-1610

ROMULUS AND REMUS

CAPITOLINE GALLERY, ROME

1607-1610

RUBENS AND ISABELLA BRANT

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

1609

LANDSCAPE WITH A RAINBOW

HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG

1605-1615

LANDSCAPE WITH A RAINBOW

LOUVRE, PARIS

1605-1615

SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS
ACADEMY OF SAN FERNANDO, MADRID
1610

THE DRUNKENNESS OF LOT

M. JULES FÉRAL, PARIS

ABOUT 1610

THE ELEVATION OF THE CROSS

CATHEDRAL, ANTWERP

1610-1611

THE ADORATION OF THE KINGS

PRADO, MADRID

1610

THE APOCALYPTIC WOMAN

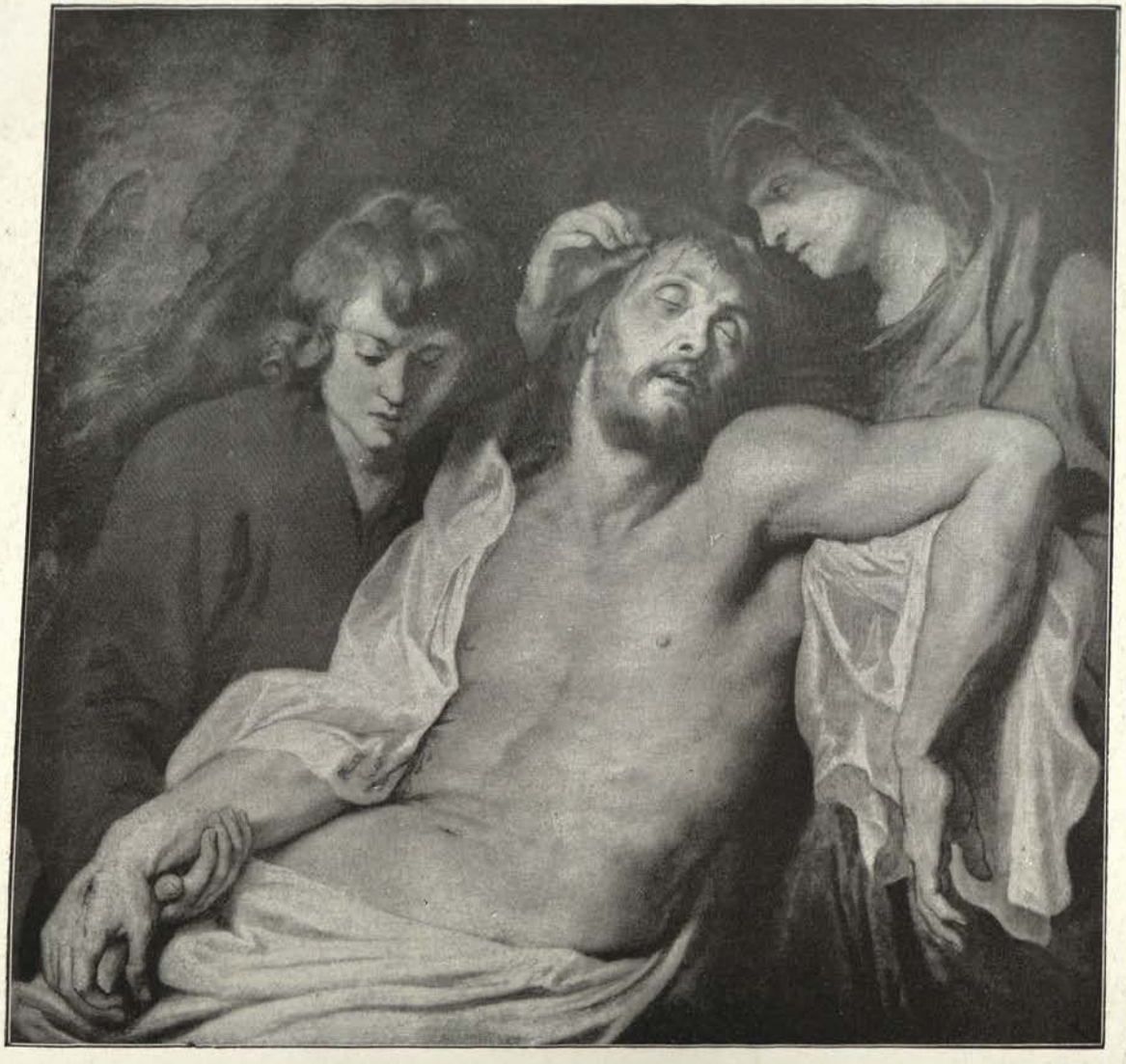
ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

1610-1611

THE APOCALYPTIC WOMAN

COLLECTION OF THE LATE CONSUL WEBER, HAMBURG

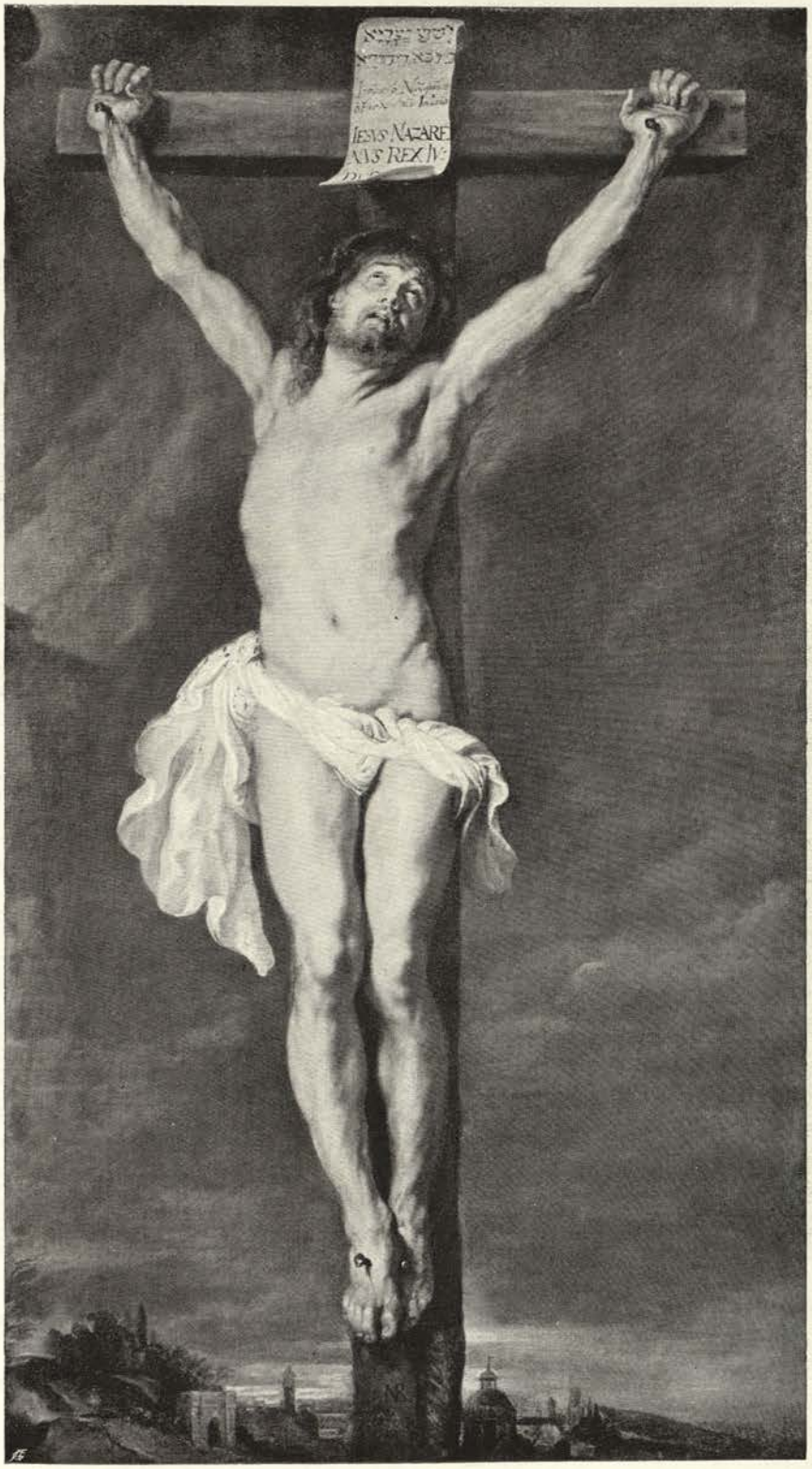
1610-1611



THE DEAD SAVIOUR WITH MARY AND JOHN (PIETÀ)

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

ABOUT 1611



CHRIST ON THE CROSS

MUSEUM, ANTWERP

ABOUT 1610

ST. FRANCIS AT THE CROSS
LIECHTENSTEIN GALLERY, VIENNA
ABOUT 1612

CHRIST ON THE CROSS
ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH
ABOUT 1612

PORTRAIT OF PIETER PECQUIUS

COLLECTION OF PRINCE ANTOINE D' ARENBERG, BRUSSELS

ABOUT 1612

ISABELLA BRANT

MUSEUM, BERLIN

ABOUT 1612

ERICHTHONIUS AND THE DAUGHTERS OF CECROPS

LIECHTENSTEIN GALLERY, VIENNA

ABOUT 1612

JUNO AND ARGUS

WALLRAF-RICHARTZ MUSEUM, COLOGNE

1611

DIOGENES SEEKING FOR A MAN

STAEDEL INSTITUTE, FRANKFORT-ON-THE-MAINE

1610-1615

THE WOMAN TAKEN IN ADULTERY

ROYAL MUSEUM, BRUSSELS

ABOUT 1612

THE DISMISSAL OF HAGAR

HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG

ABOUT 1612

THE CONVERSION OF ST. BAVON (FINISHED SKETCH)

NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON

ABOUT 1612

ST. SEBASTIAN

MUSEUM, BERLIN

1612-1614

DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS

HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG

1611-1614

DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS

CATHEDRAL, ANTWERP

1612-1614

DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS

(CENTRE PANEL)

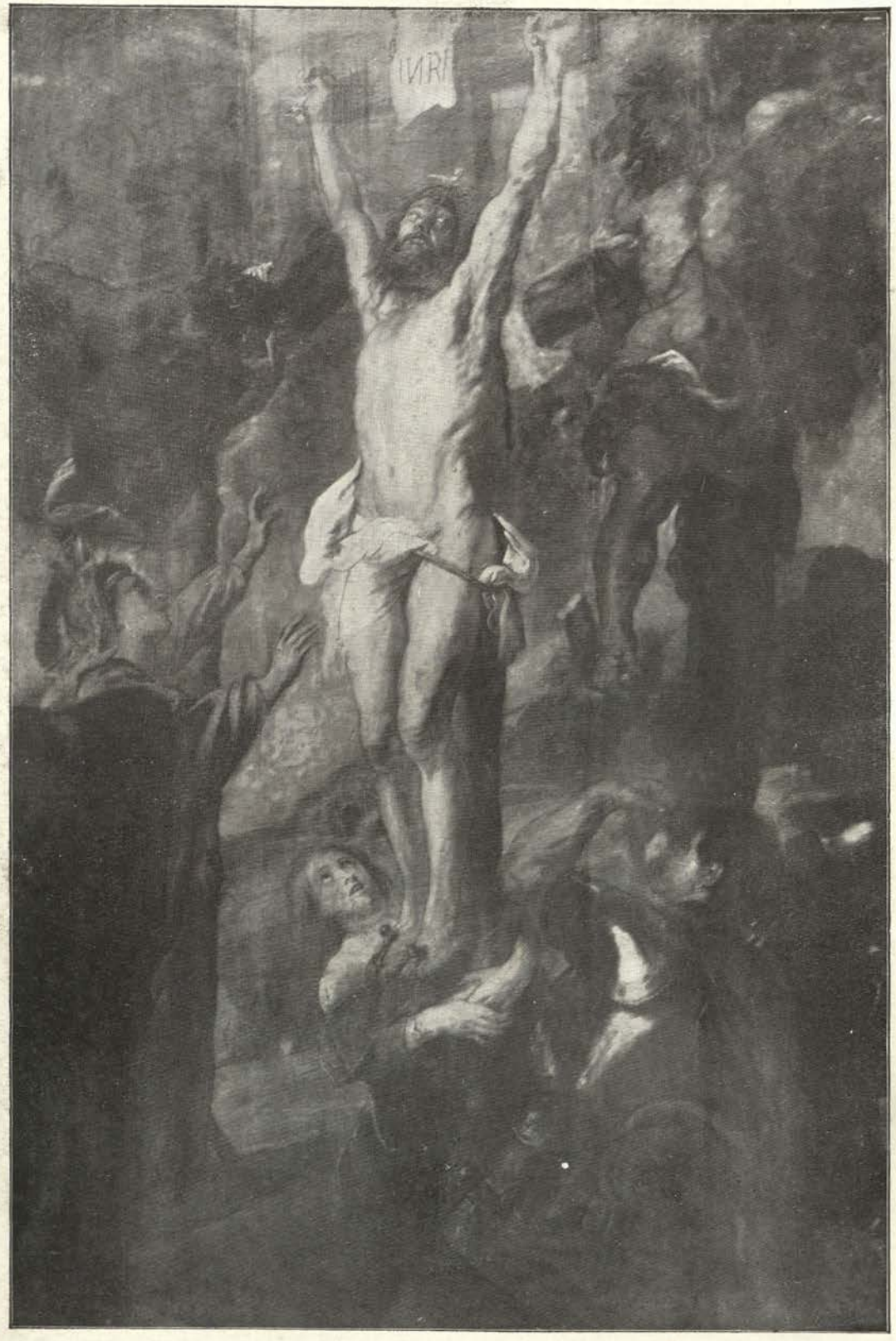
CATHEDRAL, ANTWERP

1612-1614

DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS

MUSEUM, LILLE

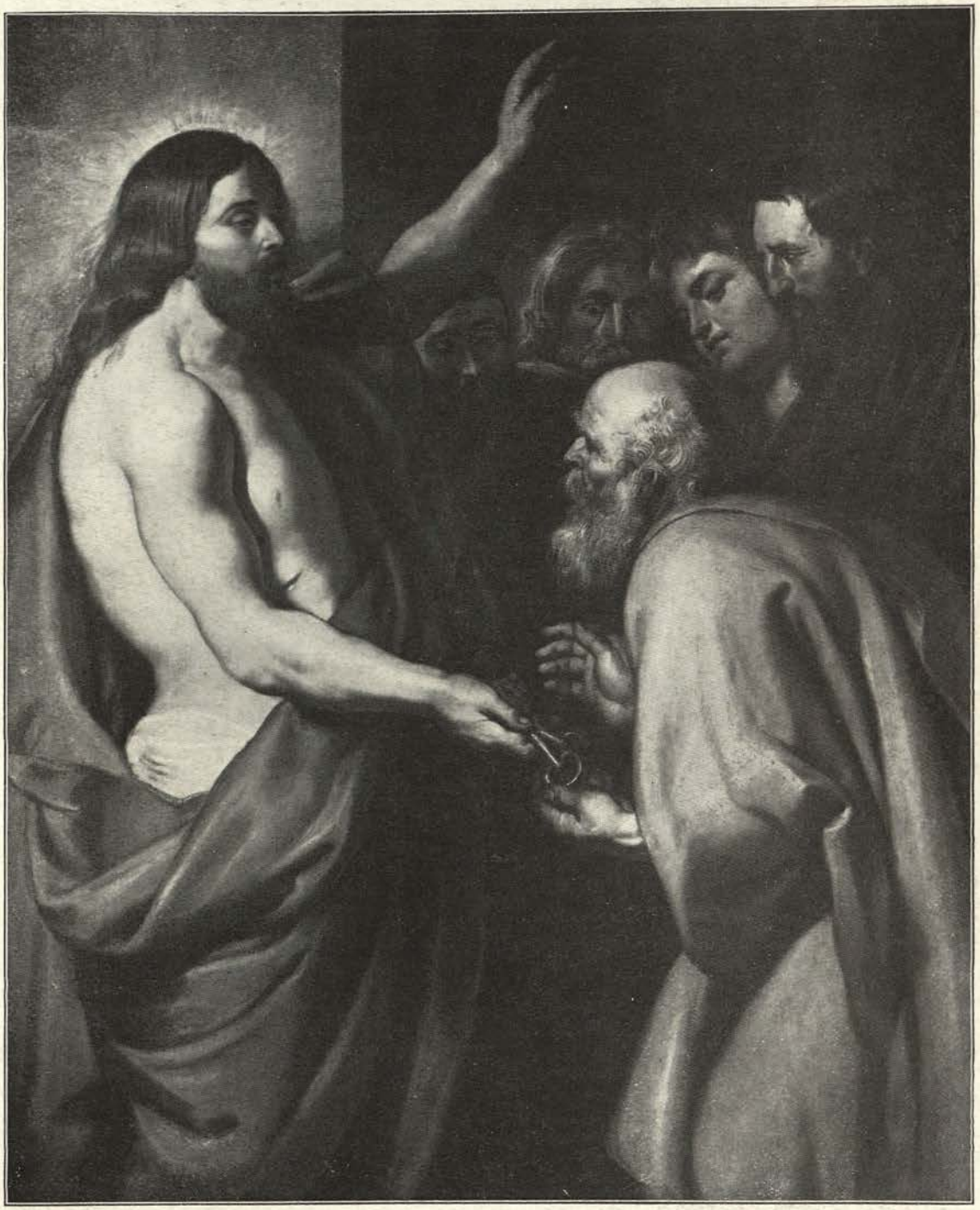
1611-1614



CRUCIFIXION

MUSEUM, TOULOUSE

ABOUT 1613



CHRIST GIVING THE KEYS TO ST. PETER

COLLECTION OF MR. E. R. BACON, NEW YORK

ABOUT 1613

ST. CHRISTOPHER AND THE HERMIT

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

1612-1614

KING DAVID WITH THE HARP

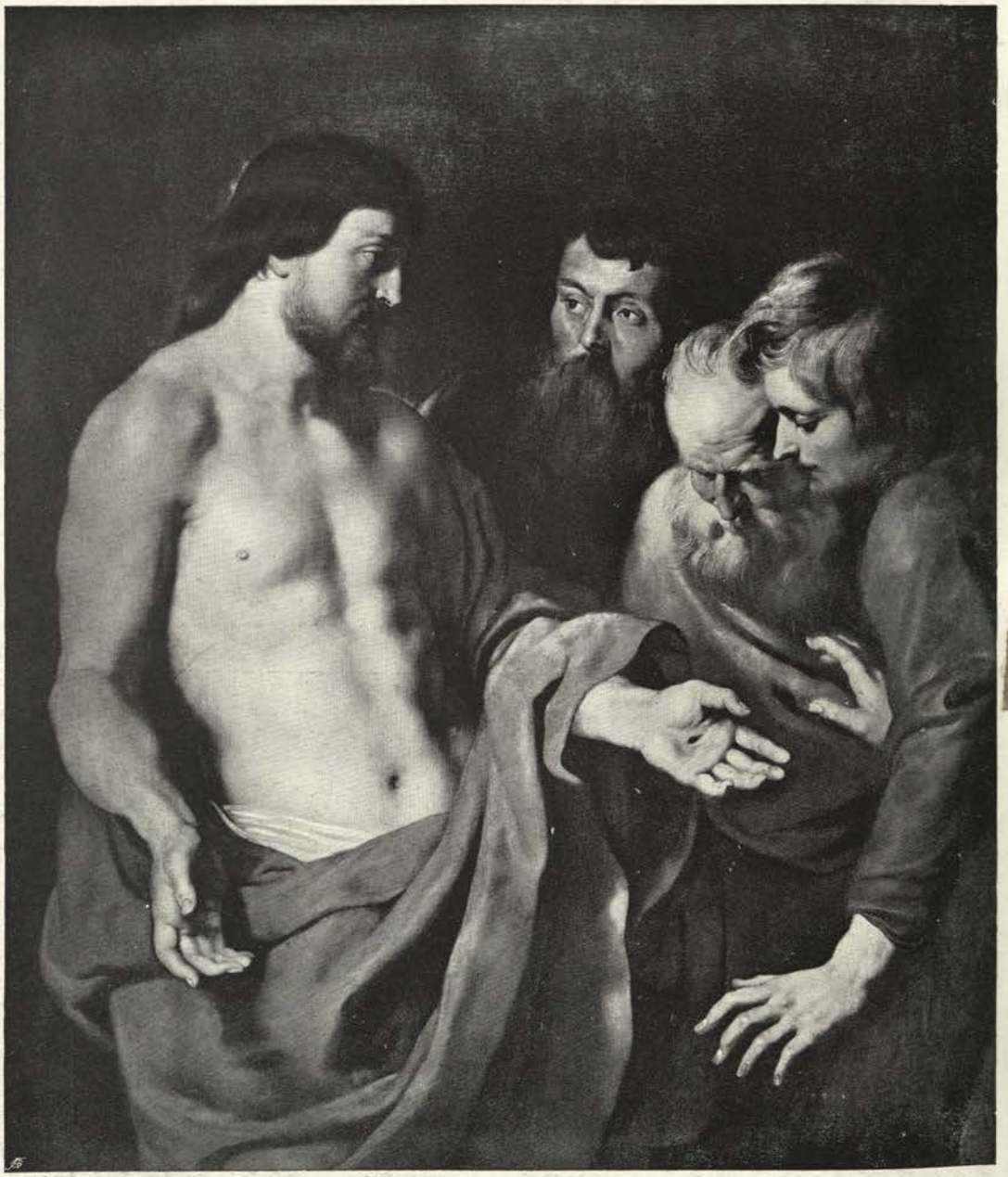
STAEDEL INSTITUTE, FRANKFORT-ON-THE-MAINE

1610-1615

MAN IN FUR COAT

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

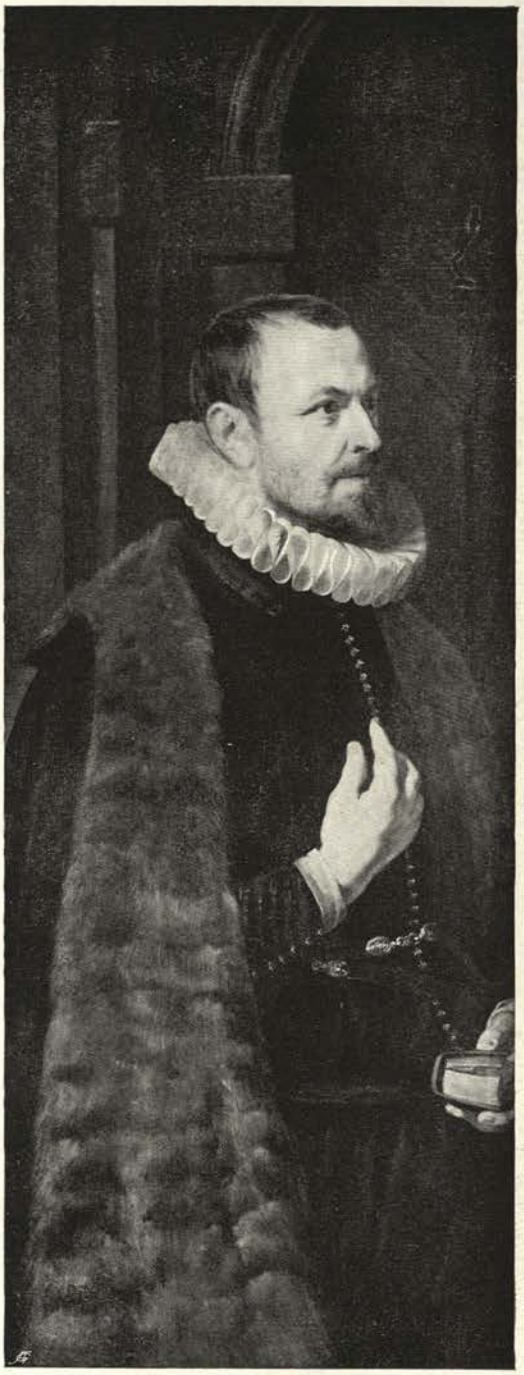
1610-1615



THE DOUBTING THOMAS

MUSEUM, ANTWERP

1613-1615



NICOLAS ROCKOX

ADRIANA PEREZ, WIFE OF NICOLAS ROCKOX

WINGS OF THE ALTAR-PIECE 'THE DOUBTING THOMAS

MUSEUM, ANTWERP

1613-1615

SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS

NATIONAL MUSEUM, STOCKHOLM

1614

PROMETHEUS AND THE EAGLE

MUSEUM, OLDENBURG

1610-1615

VENUS FRIGIDA
MUSEUM, ANTWERP
1614

ARION SAVED BY DOLPHINS

COLLECTION OF M. ADOLPHE SCHLOSS, PARIS

1610-1615

THE DEAD SAVIOUR (PIETÀ)

MUSEUM, ANTWERP

1614

THE DEAD SAVIOUR (PIETÀ)

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

1614

THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT

ROYAL GALLERY, CASSEL

1614

THE HOLY FAMILY WITH THE PARROT

MUSEUM, ANTWERP

ABOUT 1614

THE PRODIGAL SON

MUSEUM, ANTWERP

ABOUT 1612

WINTER

WINDSOR CASTLE

ABOUT 1614

THE CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

ABOUT 1614

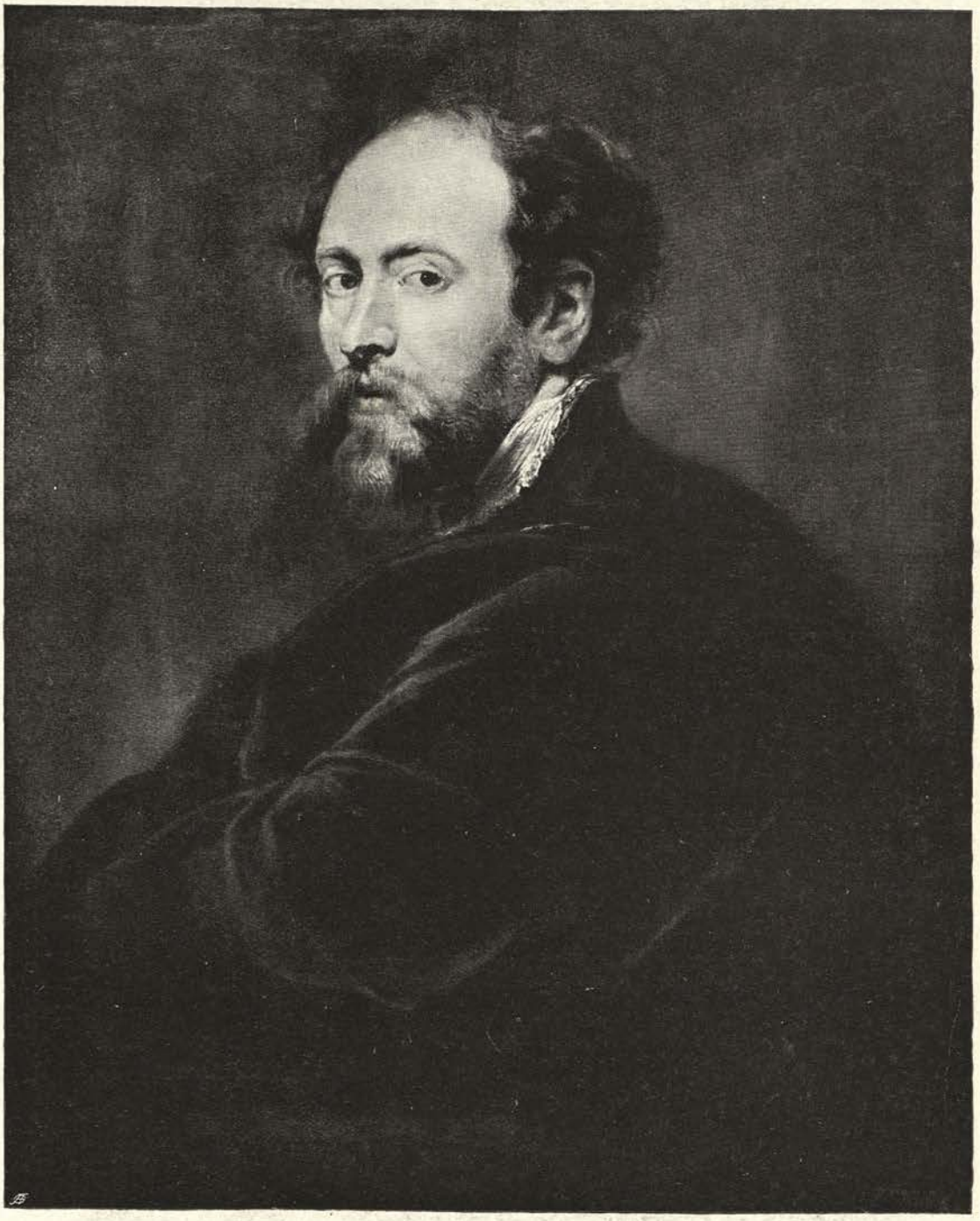
THE OVERTHROW OF SENNACHERIB

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

ABOUT 1614

PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN
ROYAL GALLERY, CASSEL
1612-1615

PORTRAIT OF A LADY
HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG
ABOUT 1615



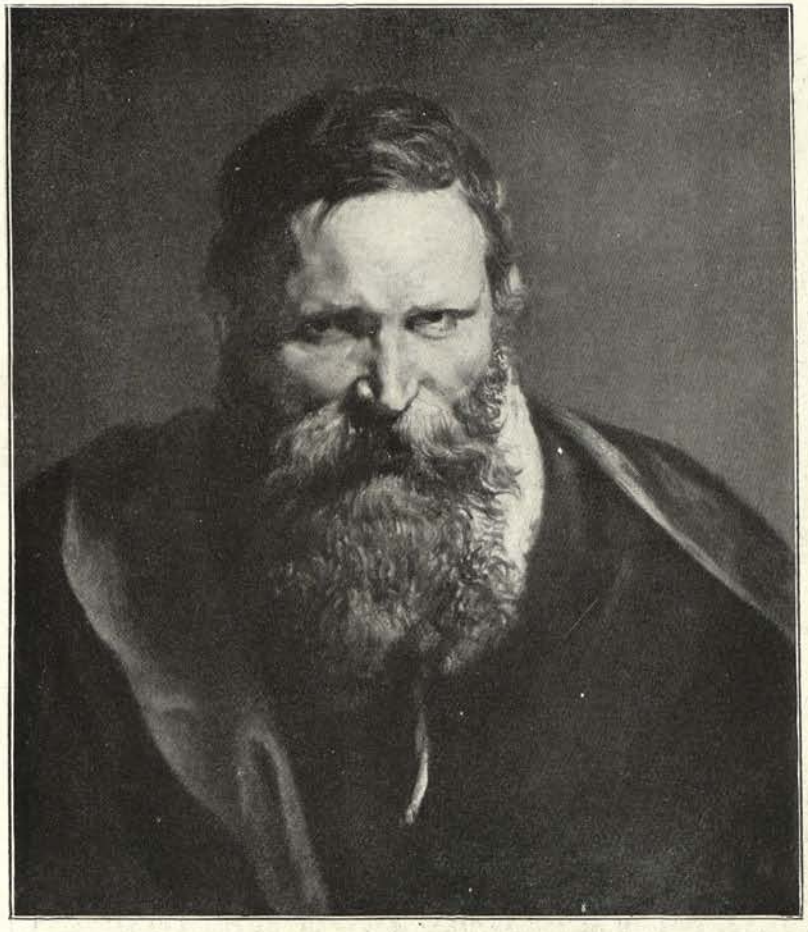
PORTRAIT OF RUBENS

UFFIZI, FLORENCE

ABOUT 1615

PORTRAIT OF A MAN
ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH
ABOUT 1615

PORTRAIT OF AN OLD WOMAN
ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH
ABOUT 1615

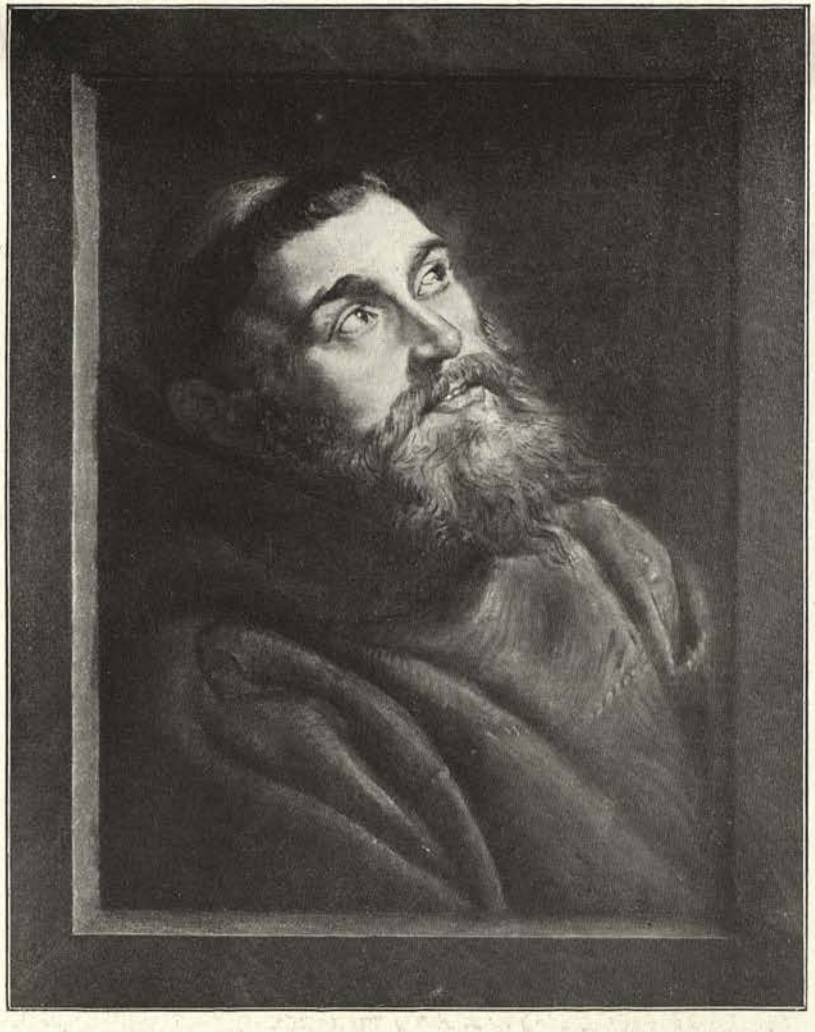


PORTRAIT OF A MAN
LIECHTENSTEIN GALLERY, VIENNA
ABOUT 1615

PORTRAIT OF A MAN
HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG
ABOUT 1615

A FRANCISCAN MONK
HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG
ABOUT 1615

PORTRAIT OF AN OLD LADY
HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG
ABOUT 1615



ST. FRANCIS

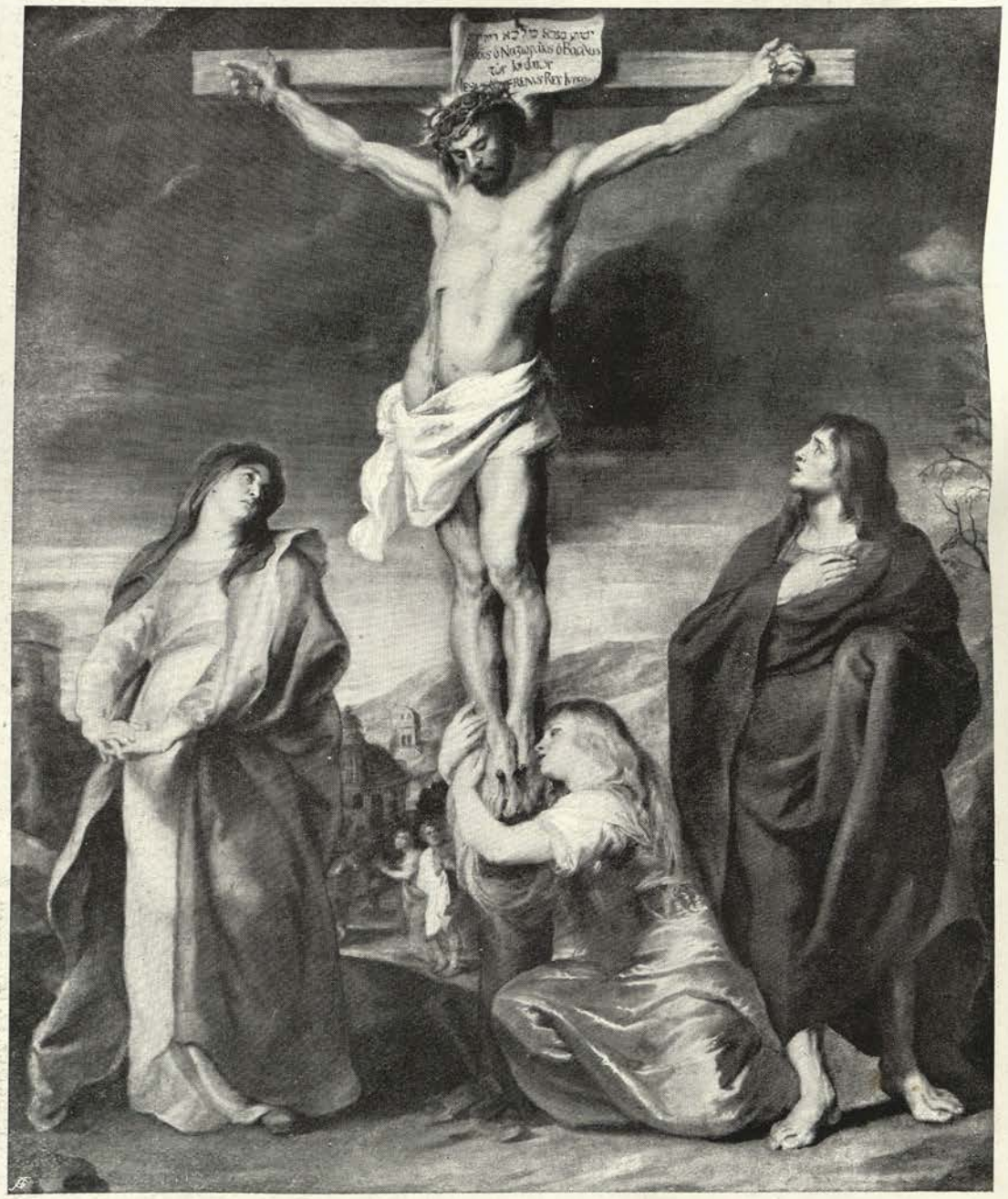
HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG

ABOUT 1616

ST. FRANCIS WITH THE CRUCIFIX

MUSEUM, OLDENBURG

ABOUT 1615



CHRIST ON THE CROSS

LOUVRE, PARIS

1615

CHRIST AND THE REPENTANT SINNERS

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

ABOUT 1615

LAMENTATION OVER THE DEAD SAVIOUR

MUSEUM, BERLIN

1610-1620

CHRIST DESCENDING TO THE EARTH

FORMERLY IN SCHUBART COLLECTION, MUNICH

ABOUT 1615

NYMPHS CROWNING THE GODDESS OF PLENTY

ACADEMY OF ST. LUKE, ROME

1610-1620

THE ALLIANCE OF EARTH AND WATER (NEPTUNE AND CYBELE)

HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG

ABOUT 1615

NYMPHS AND SATYRS

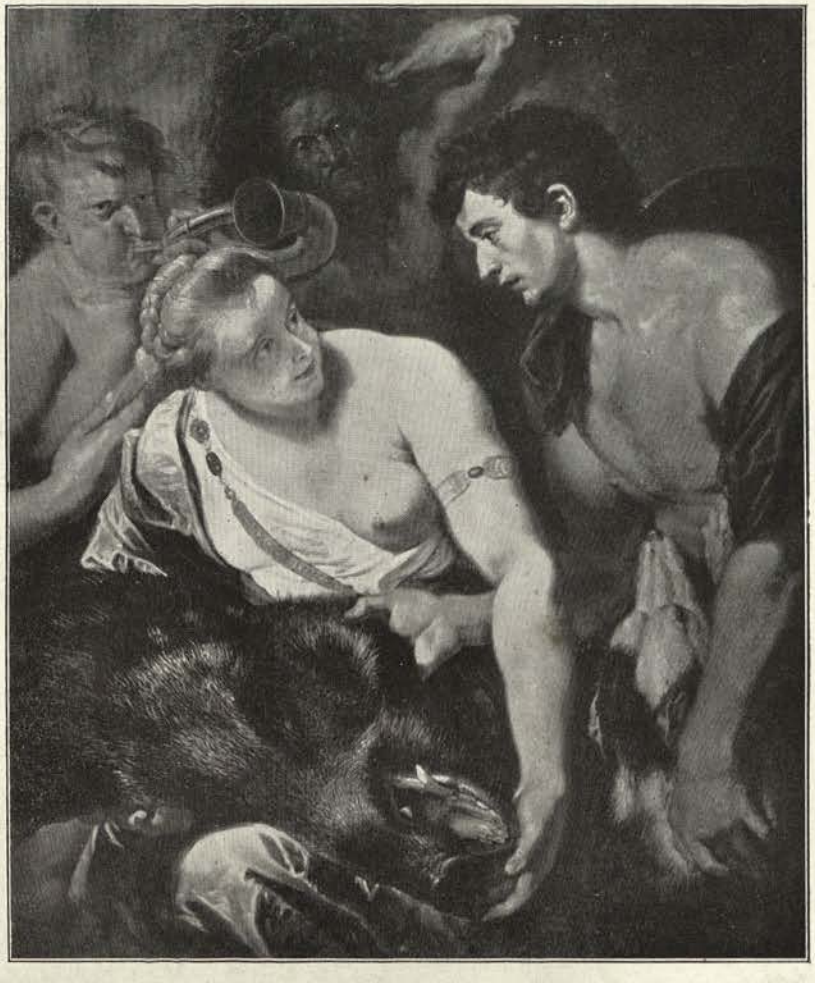
MUSEUM, OLDENBURG

1610-1620

THE DEATH OF CLEOPATRA

GALLERY SANSSOUCI, POTSDAM

ABOUT 1615



MELEAGER AND ATALANTA

ROYAL GALLERY, CASSEL

ABOUT 1615

ACHILLES WITH THE DAUGHTERS OF LYCOMEDES

PRADO, MADRID

1615-1617

DIANA RETURNING FROM THE CHASE
ROYAL GALLERY, DRESDEN
ABOUT 1615

DIANA RETURNING FROM THE CHASE

ROYAL GALLERY, DRESDEN

ABOUT 1615

THE ASSUMPTION OF THE RIGHTEOUS

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

1610-1615

THE LITTLE LAST JUDGMENT

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

ABOUT 1615

THE FALL OF THE DAMNED

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

1614-1618

MADONNA WITH THE HOLY INNOCENTS

LOUVRE, PARIS

ABOUT 1615

THE BATTLE OF THE AMAZONS

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

ABOUT 1615

THE BIRTH OF VENUS

GALLERY, SANSSOUCI, POTSDAM

ABOUT 1615

MADONNA AND CHILD

HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG

ABOUT 1615

HEAD OF A CHILD

LIECHTENSTEIN GALLERY, VIENNA

ABOUT 1616

PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

ABOUT 1616

PORTRAIT OF A MAN IN ARMOUR

HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG

1615-1620

WILD-BOAR HUNT

ROYAL GALLERY, DRESDEN

1614-1615

WILD-BOAR HUNT

MUSEUM, MARSEILLES

1614-1617

LION HUNT

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

ABOUT 1616

LION HUNT
(SKETCH)
HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG
ABOUT 1616

THE CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL

MUSEUM, BERLIN

ABOUT 1617

CROCODILE AND HIPPOPOTAMUS HUNT

ROYAL GALLERY, AUGSBURG

1615-1618

WOLF AND FOX HUNT

EX ASHBURTON COLLECTION (MESSRS. SULLEY AND CO., LONDON)

1614-1617

AJAX AND CASSANDRA

LIECHTENSTEIN GALLERY, VIENNA

1616-1618

LOT LEAVING SODOM

COLLECTION OF MR. C. BUTLER, LONDON

ABOUT 1617

THE GARLANDED MADONNA WITH BOY ANGELS

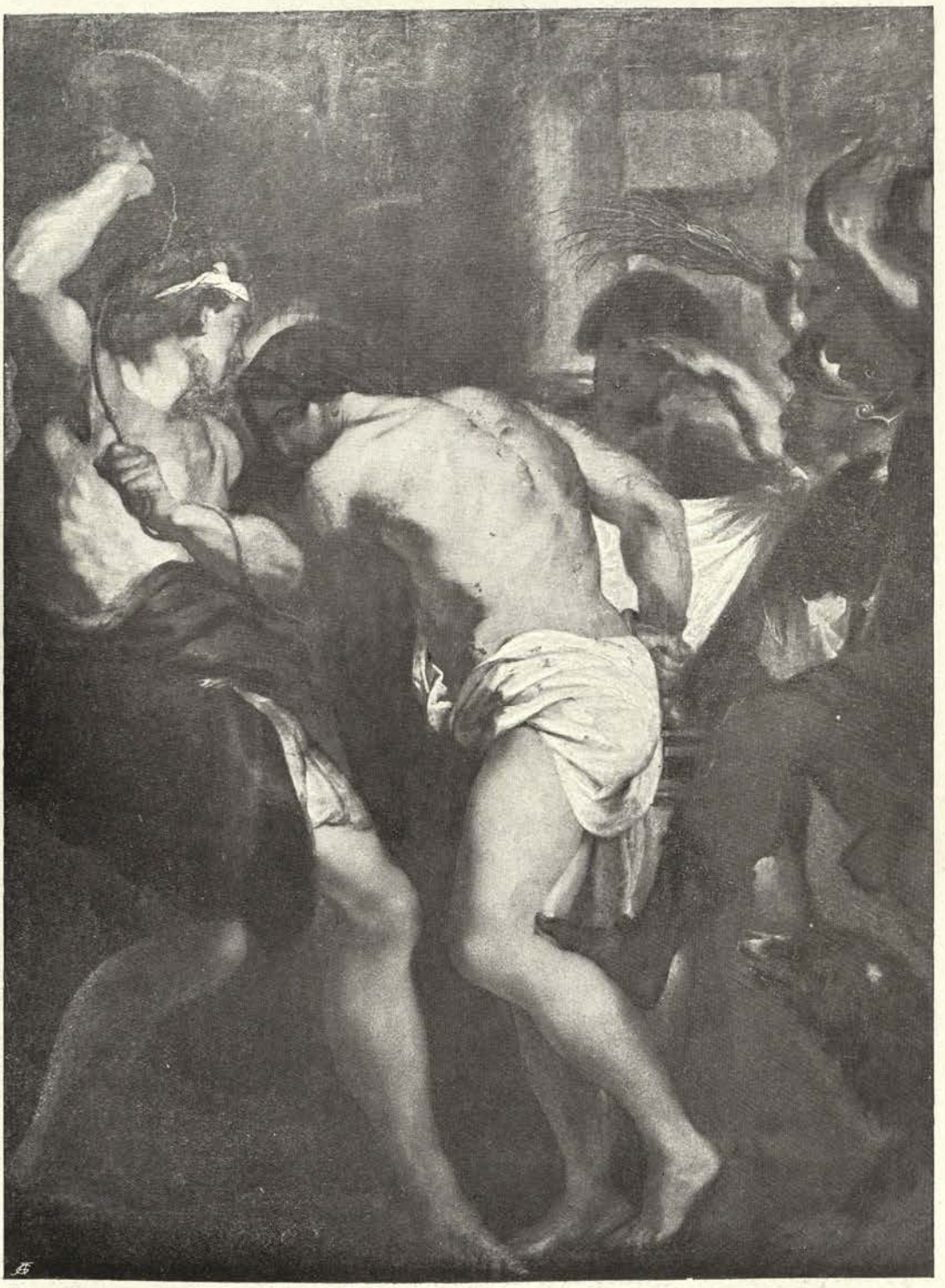
ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

ABOUT 1616

THE TRINITY WITH SAINTS

MUSEUM, WEIMAR

1615-1618



THE FLAGELLATION

CHURCH OF ST. PAUL, ANTWERP

1617

PORTRAIT OF A MAN

COLLECTION OF SIR F. COOK, BART., RICHMOND

ABOUT 1615

PORTRAIT OF JAN VERMOELEN

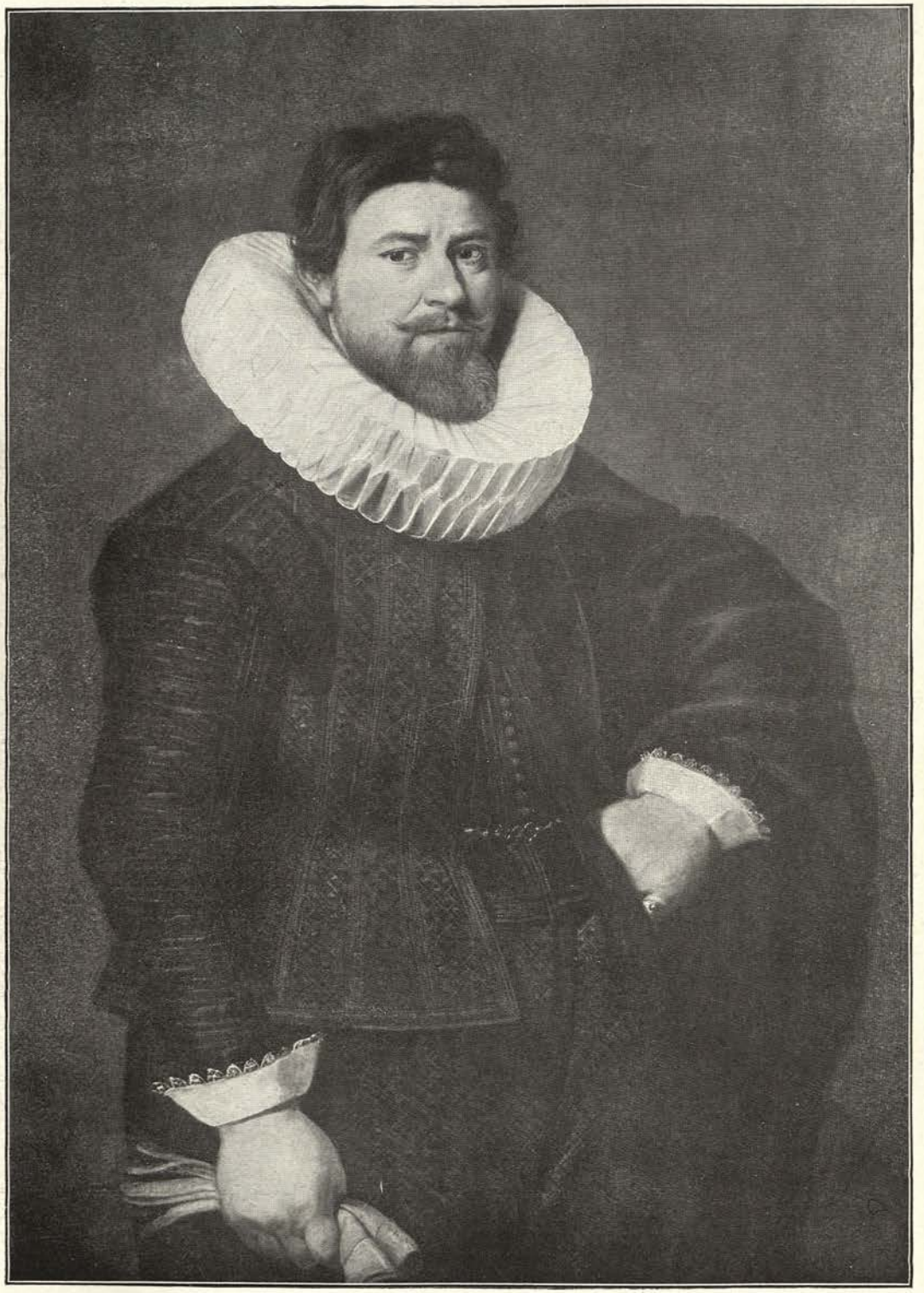
LIECHTENSTEIN GALLERY, VIENNA

1616

PORTRAIT OF CORNEILLE DE LANTSCHOTT

COLLECTION OF SENATOR ALLARD, BRUSSELS

1615-1618



PORTRAIT OF A MAN

COLLECTION OF MR. J. HAGE, COPENHAGEN

1615-1620

PORTRAIT OF JEAN CHARLES DE CORDES

ROYAL MUSEUM, BRUSSELS

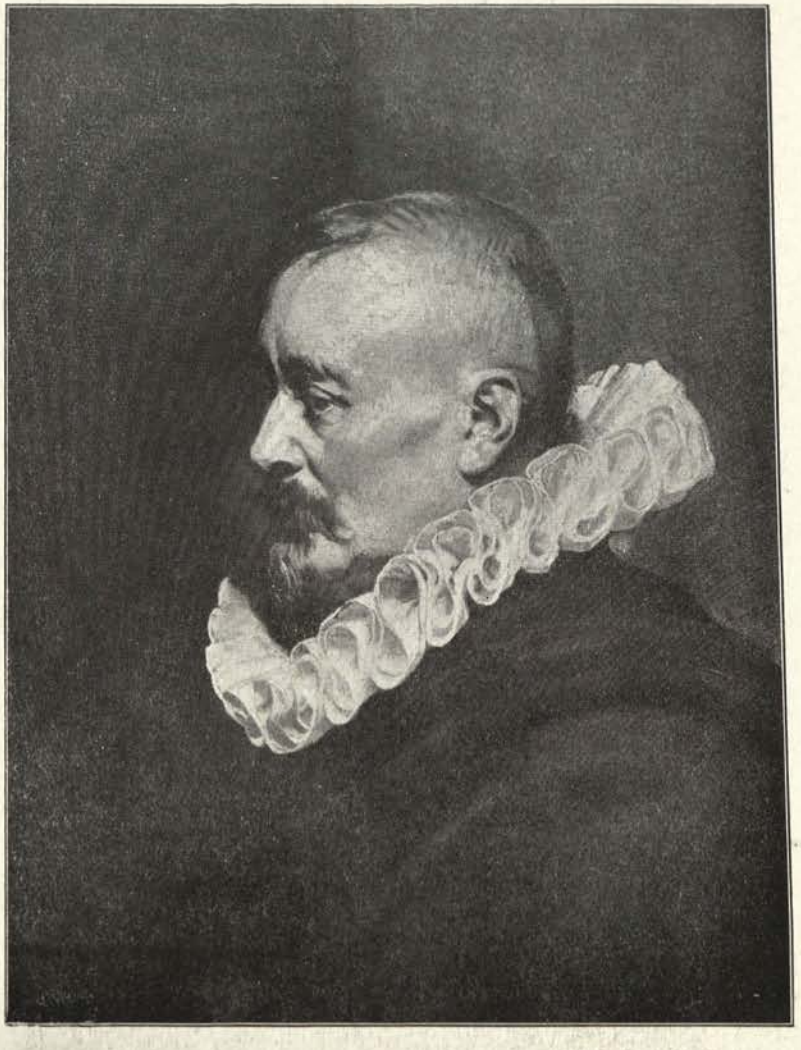
1617-1618

PORTRAIT OF JACQUELINE VAN CAESTRE

ROYAL MUSEUM, BRUSSELS

1617-1618

PORTRAIT OF A MAN
ROYAL GALLERY, DRESDEN
1615-1618



PORTRAIT OF A MAN
COLLECTION OF PROF. LUDWIG KNAUS, BERLIN
1615-1618

PORTRAIT OF THE ARCHDUKE ALBERT

PRADO, MADRID

1615-1620

BOY PLAYING WITH BIRD
(PROBABLY RUBENS'S SON NICOLAS)
MUSEUM, BERLIN
ABOUT 1620

HEAD OF A CHILD
HARRACH GALLERY, VIENNA
1615-1620

PORTRAIT OF THE INFANTA ISABELLA

PRADO, MADRID

1615-1620

MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST FRANCIS

MUSEUM, LILLE

1615-1618

ST. AUGUSTINE BETWEEN CHRIST AND THE VIRGIN

ACADEMY OF SAN FERNANDO, MADRID

ABOUT 1618, OR PERHAPS EARLIER

HOLY FAMILY WITH A BASKET

GALLERY, SANSSOUCI, POTSDAM

1615-1620

HOLY FAMILY

WALLACE COLLECTION, LONDON

ABOUT 1617

ST. FRANCIS RECEIVING THE STIGMATA

WALLRAF-RICHARTZ MUSEUM, COLOGNE

ABOUT 1617

PARACELSUS

ROYAL MUSEUM, BRUSSELS

1615-1620

SAINTS PETER AND PAUL

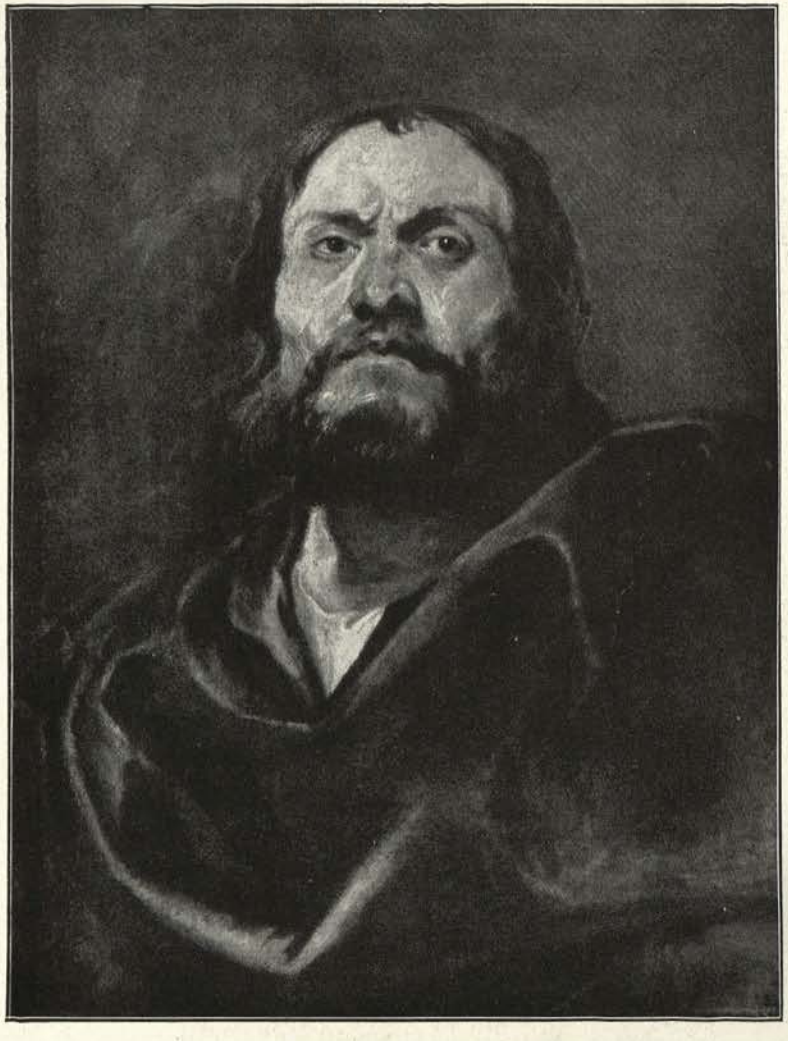
COLLECTION OF F. M. PHILLIPSON, BRUSSELS

1615-1620

SAINTS PETER AND PAUL

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

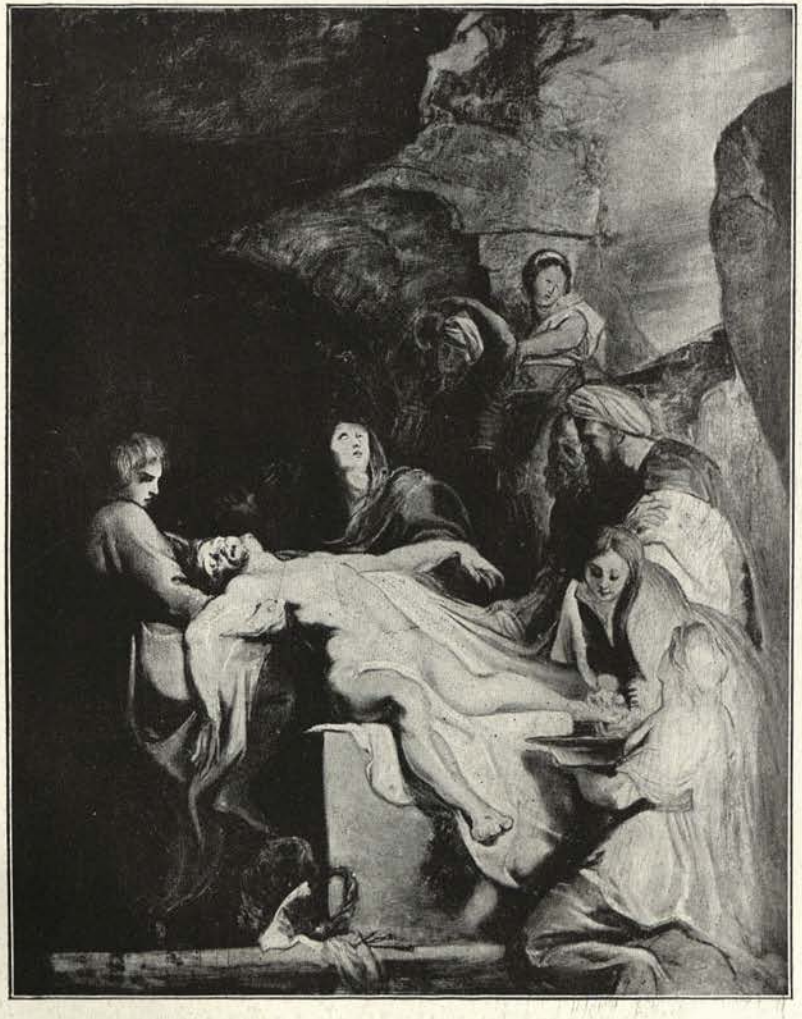
1615-1620



STUDY FOR HEAD OF S. PETER

MUSEUM, BERLIN

1615-1620



THE ENTOMBMENT

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

1615-1620

JESUS AT THE HOUSE OF SIMON THE PHARISEE

HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG

1615-1620

PORTRAIT OF CHARLES DE LONGUEVAL

HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG

1615-1620

NATURE ATTIRED BY THE GRACES

CORPORATION GALLERY, GLASGOW

1615-1620

CHILDREN WITH GARLANDS

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

1617-1618

THE INFANT CHRIST WITH ST. JOHN AND ANGELS

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

1616-1620

NYMPHS AND CUPIDS PLUCKING FRUIT

MAURITSHUIS, THE HAGUE

1615-1620

ADAM AND EVE IN PARADISE

MAURITSHUIS, THE HAGUE

1615-1620

DIANA ASLEEP AFTER THE CHASE

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

1615-1620

PHILEMON AND BAUCIS ENTERTAINING JUPITER AND MERCURY

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

1615-1620

PHILOPOEMEN

LOUVRE, PARIS

1618-1620

FALCONER RETURNING FROM HUNTING

COLLECTION OF THE EARL OF PLYMOUTH, REDDITCH

1615-1620

THE HISTORY OF DECIUS MUS
I.—DECIUS RELATES HIS DREAM
LIECHTENSTEIN GALLERY, VIENNA
1617-1618

HISTORY OF DECIUS MUS
II.—DECIUS CONSULTS THE HARUSPICES
LIECHTENSTEIN GALLERY, VIENNA
1617-1618

HISTORY OF DECIUS MUS

III.—DECIUS DEVOTES HIMSELF TO THE INFERNAL DEITIES

LIECHTENSTEIN GALLERY, VIENNA

1617-1618

HISTORY OF DECIUS MUS
IV.—DECIUS SENDS BACK THE LICTORS
LIECHTENSTEIN GALLERY VIENNA
1617-1618

HISTORY OF DECIUS MUS
V.—THE DEATH OF DECIUS
LIECHTENSTEIN GALLERY, VIENNA
1617-1618

HISTORY OF DECIUS MUS
VI.—THE FUNERAL OF DECIUS
LIECHTENSTEIN GALLERY, VIENNA
1617-1618

THE RECONCILIATION OF JACOB AND ESAU

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

ABOUT 1618

JUDAS MACCABÆUS PRAYING FOR THE DEAD

MUSEUM, NANTES

1618-1620

A HERO CROWNED BY VICTORY

ROYAL GALLERY, CASSEL

ABOUT 1619

A HERO CROWNED BY VICTORY

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

ABOUT 1619

A HERO CROWNED BY VICTORY

ROYAL GALLERY, CASSEL

ABOUT 1619

A HERO CROWNED BY VICTORY

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

ABOUT 1619

PERSEUS AND ANDROMEDA

HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG

1615-1620

THE RECONCILIATION OF THE ROMANS AND SABINES

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

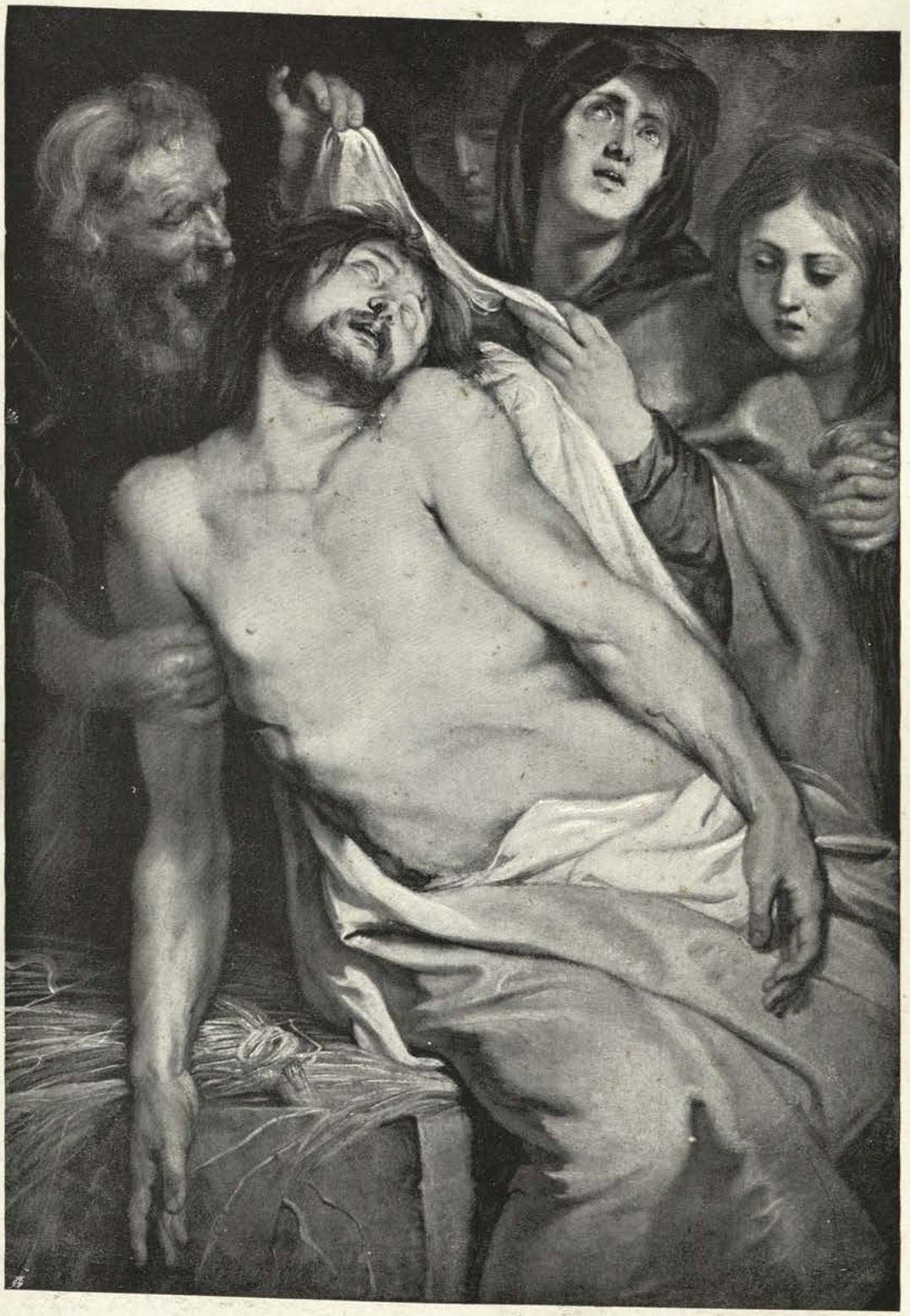
ABOUT 1618

SUMMER
WINDSOR CASTLE
1616-1620

THE CAPTURE OF TUNIS BY THE EMPEROR CHARLES V

MUSEUM, BERLIN

ABOUT 1618



"LE CHRIST À LA PAILLE"

MUSEUM, ANTWERP

ABOUT 1618

MADONNA AND CHILD

ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST

WINGS OF THE ALTAR-PIECE "CHRIST À LA PAILLE"

MUSEUM, ANTWERP

ABOUT 1618

THE MIRACULOUS DRAUGHT OF FISHES

NOTRE DAME, MALINES

1618-1619

JONAH THROWN INTO THE SEA

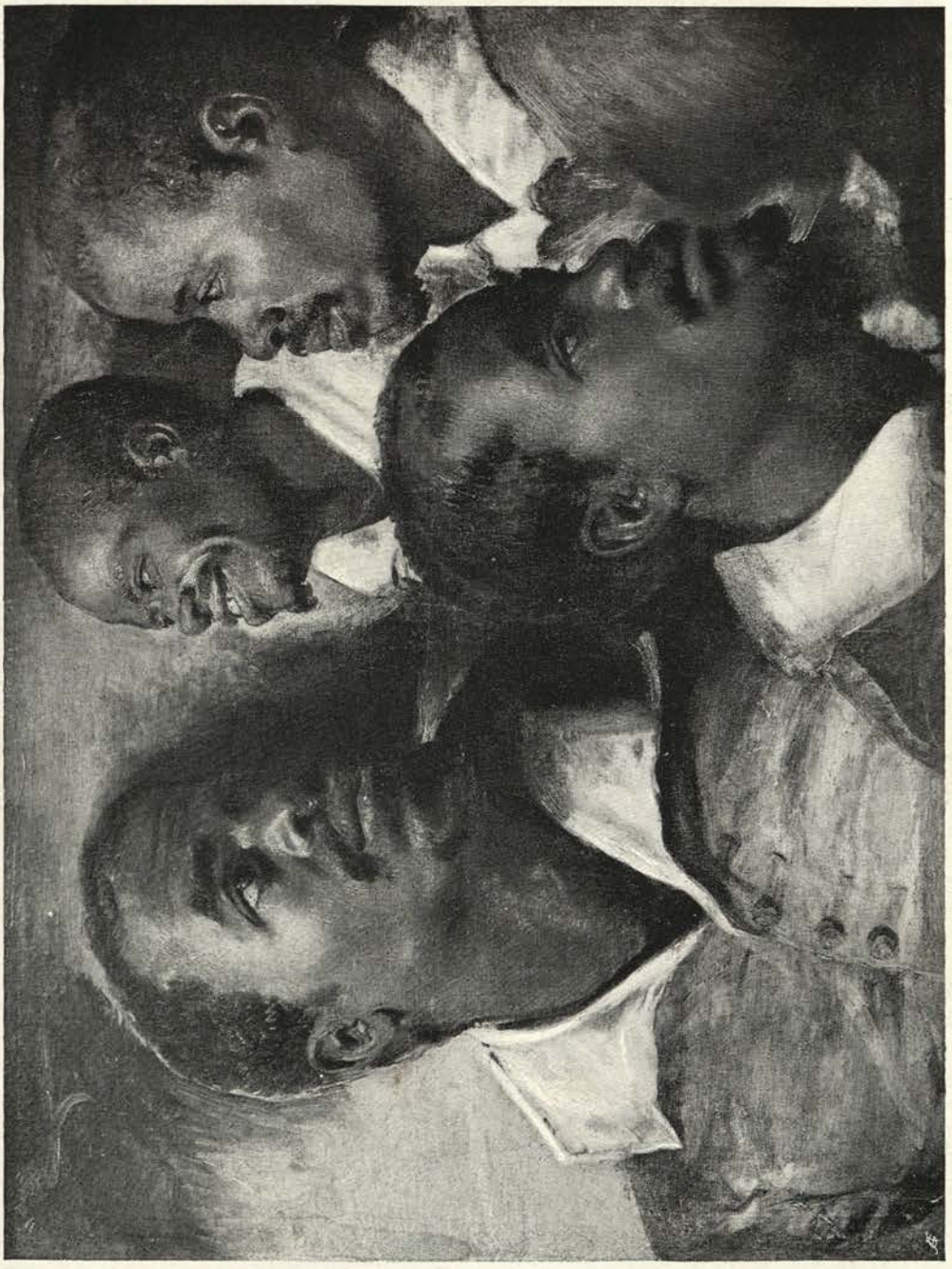
MUSEUM, NANCY

1618-1619

CHRIST WALKING ON THE WATER

MUSEUM, NANCY

1618-1619



STUDIES OF A NEGRO'S HEAD
ROYAL MUSEUM, BRUSSELS
ABOUT 1618

THE ADORATION OF THE KINGS

MUSEUM, LYONS

ABOUT 1618

THE GREAT LAST JUDGMENT

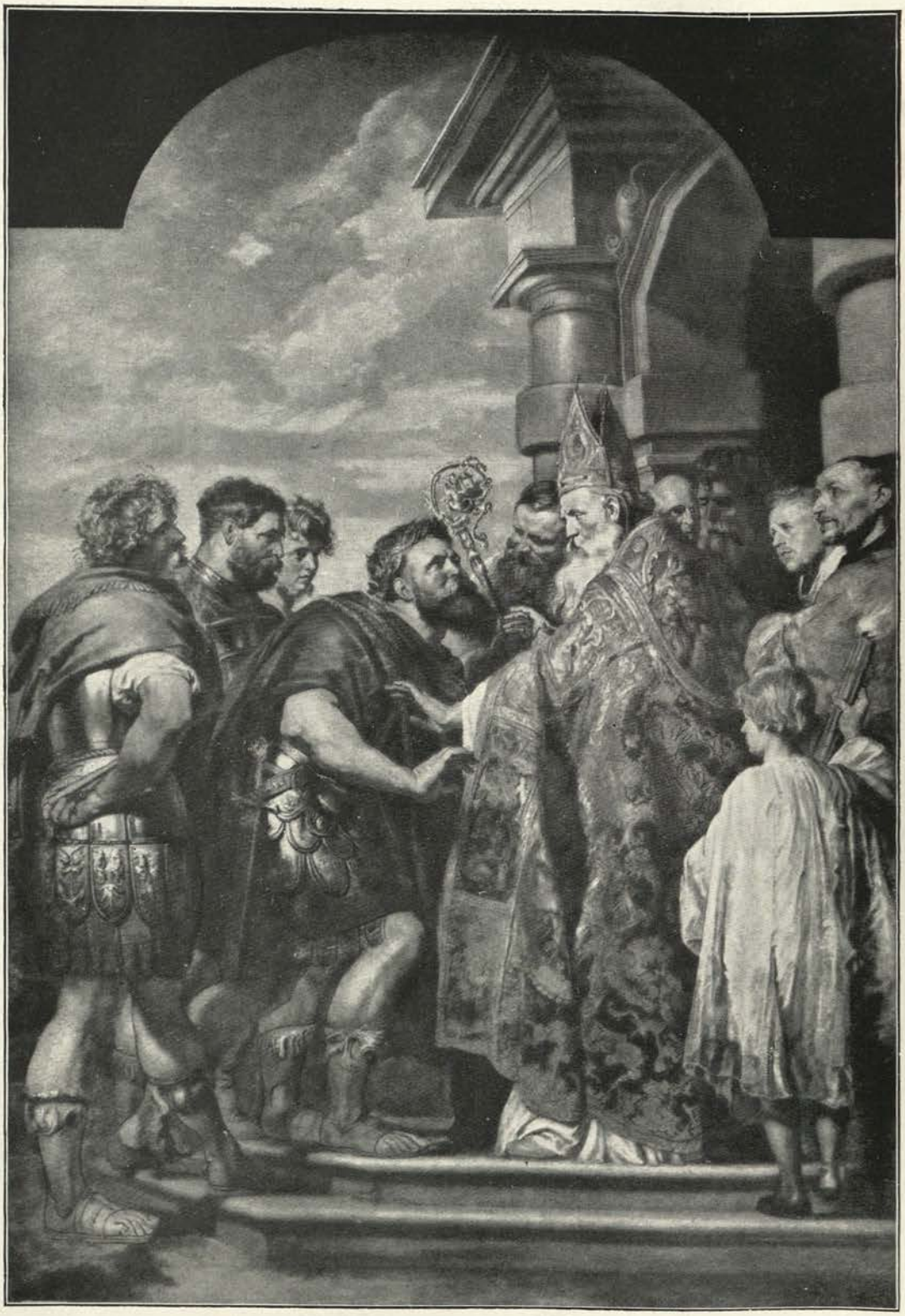
ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

1618

THE LAST JUDGMENT

ROYAL GALLERY, DRESDEN

ABOUT 1618



ST. AMBROSIUS AND THE EMPEROR THEODOSIUS

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

ABOUT 1619

THE FALL OF THE REBEL ANGELS

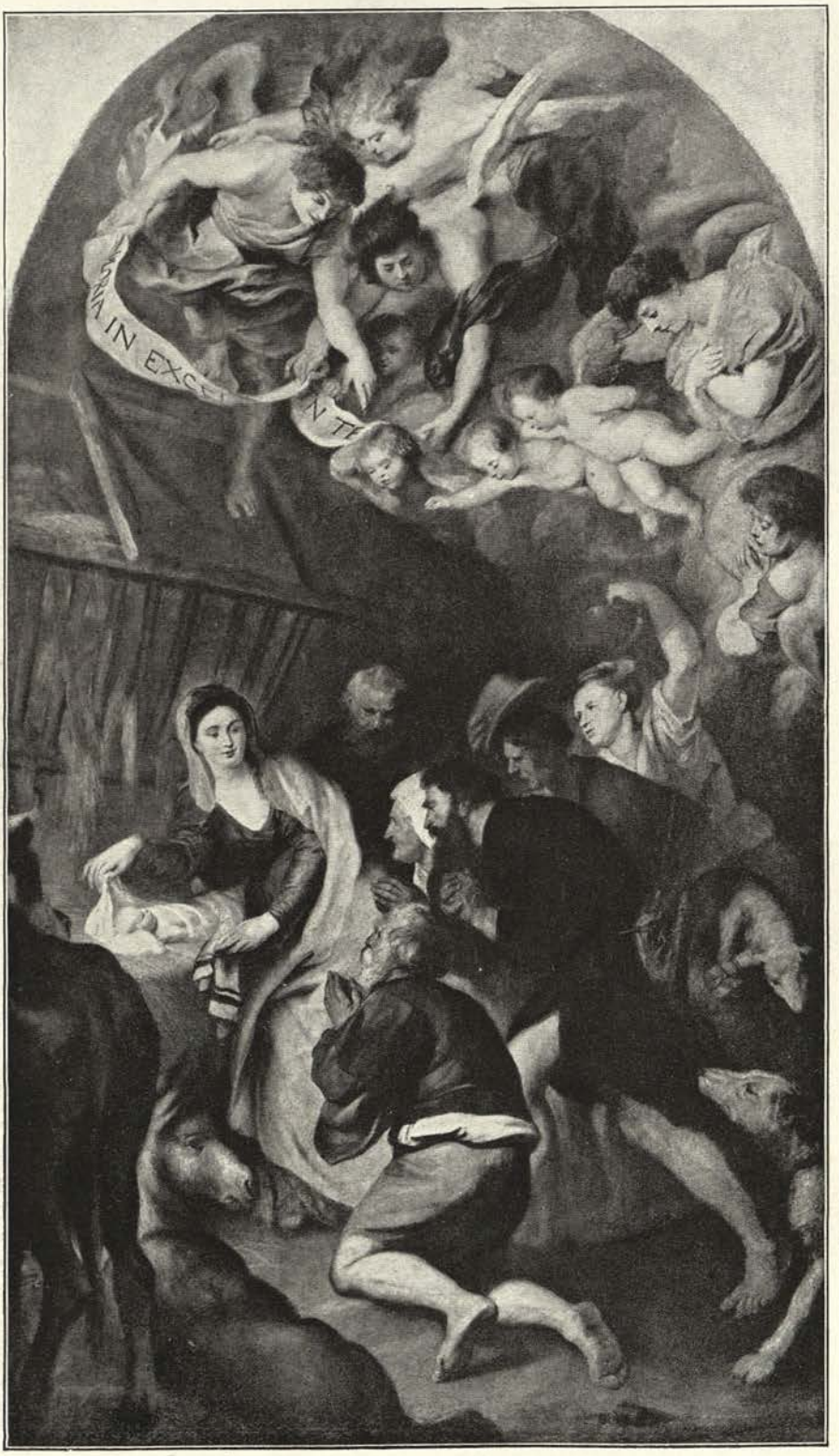
ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

1619

THE LAST COMMUNION OF ST. FRANCIS

MUSEUM, ANTWERP

1619



THE ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

1619

THE DESCENT OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

1619

CRUCIFIXION 'LE COUP DE LANCE'

MUSEUM, ANTWERP

1620

THE DESCENT OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

1619

CRUCIFIXION 'LE COUP DE LANCE'

MUSEUM, ANTWERP

1620

THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN

ROYAL MUSEUM, BRUSSELS

1618-1620

THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN

ACADEMY, DÜSSELDORF

ABOUT 1620

THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

1620

MARTYRDOM OF ST. URSULA AND HER COMPANIONS

ROYAL MUSEUM, BRUSSELS

ABOUT 1620

THE VIRGIN AND SAINTS INTERCEDING FOR THE WORLD

MUSEUM, LYONS

ABOUT 1620

THE BRAZEN SERPENT

PRADO, MADRID

1617-1620

THE MIRACLES OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

1620

THE MIRACLES OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER

(SKETCH FOR PICTURE OPPOSITE)

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

1620

THE MIRACLES OF ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

1620

THE MIRACLES OF ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA

(SKETCH FOR PICTURE OPPOSITE)

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

1620

THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN

LOUVRE, PARIS

1620

THE MIRACLES OF ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA

SANT' AMBROGIO, GENOA

ABOUT 1620

ABRAHAM AND MELCHISEDEK

LOUVRE, PARIS

1620

ABRAHAM'S SACRIFICE

LOUVRE, PARIS

1620

ESTHER BEFORE AHASUERUS

ACADEMY, VIENNA

1620

THE ASCENSION OF ELIJAH

MUSEUM, GOTHA

1620

ABRAHAM AND MELCHISEDEK

LOUVRE, PARIS

1620

ABRAHAM'S SACRIFICE

LOUVRE, PARIS

1620

ESTHER BEFORE AHASUERUS

ACADEMY, VIENNA

1620

THE ASCENSION OF ELIJAH

MUSEUM, GOTHA

1620

THE ANNUNCIATION

ACADEMY, VIENNA

1620

THE ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS

ACADEMY, VIENNA

1620

THE ELEVATION OF THE CROSS

LOUVRE, PARIS

1620

THE ASCENSION

ACADEMY, VIENNA

1620

ST. BASIL

MUSEUM, GOTHA

1620

THE FALL OF THE REBEL ANGELS

COLLECTION OF PROF. WILLEMS, BRUSSELS

1620

ST. GREGORY OF NAZIANZEN
MUSEUM, GOTHA
1620

ST. ATHANASIUS
MUSEUM, GOTHA
1620

ST. BARBARA

DULWICH COLLEGE GALLERY, LONDON

1620

ST. CECILIA

ACADEMY, VIENNA

1620

ST. JEROME
ACADEMY, VIENNA
1620

ST. AUGUSTINE
MUSEUM, GOTHA
1620

MADONNA AND CHILD

COLLECTION OF FREIHERR VON HEYL ZU HERRNSHEIM, WORMS

ABOUT 1620

HOLY FAMILY

PITTI, FLORENCE

ABOUT 1620

VIRGIN AND CHILD
ROYAL MUSEUM, BRUSSELS
ABOUT 1620

VIRGIN AND CHILD
MUSEUM, BERLIN
ABOUT 1620

THE TRINITY
ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH
ABOUT 1619

THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. LAURENCE
ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH
ABOUT 1620

THE TRINITY

MUSEUM, ANTWERP

1620-1621

ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS

MUSEUM, MARSEILLES

1619

THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST

MUSEUM, MARSEILLES

1619

THE PENITENT MAGDALEN

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

ABOUT 1620

THE JUDGMENT OF SOLOMON

ROYAL GALLERY, COPENHAGEN

1618-1620

THE HOLY WOMEN AT THE SEPULCHRE

CZERNIN GALLERY, VIENNA

ABOUT 1620

MUCIUS SCÆVOLA BEFORE PORSENNA

NATIONAL GALLERY, BUDAPEST

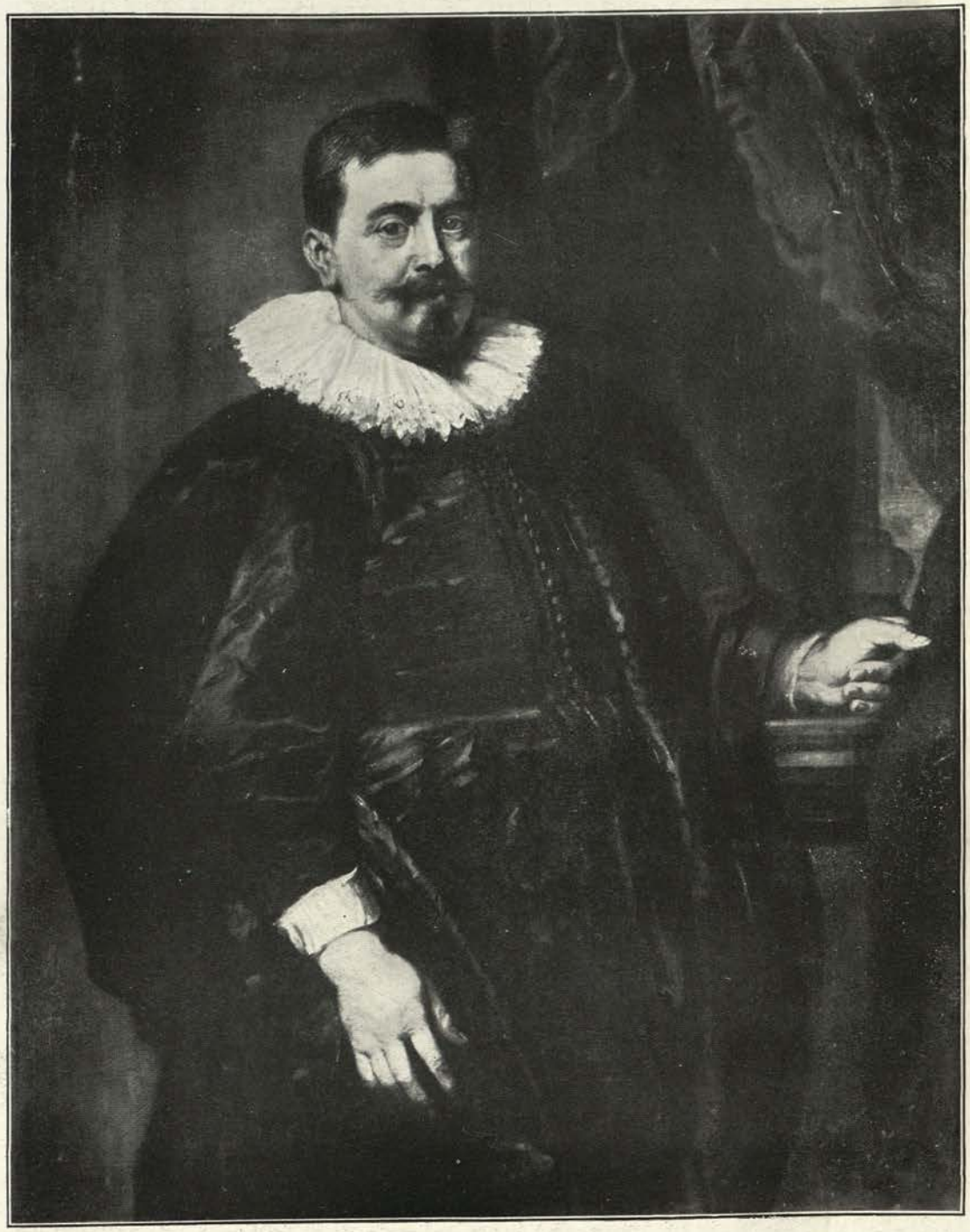
1620-1625

THE EARL AND COUNTESS OF ARUNDEL

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

1620

SUSANNA FOURMENT
(LE CHAPEAU DE PAILLE)
NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON
ABOUT 1620



PETER VAN HECKE

COLLECTION OF BARON EDMOND DE ROTHSCHILD, PARIS

1618-1620

CLARA FOURMENT

COLLECTION OF BARON EDMOND DE ROTHSCHILD, PARIS

1618-1620

PORTRAIT OF DOCTOR VAN THULDEN

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

ABOUT 1620

PORTRAIT OF A MAN

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

ABOUT 1620

ISABELLA BRANT

MAURITSHUIS, THE HAGUE

ABOUT 1620

THE EMPEROR AUGUSTUS
GALLERY, SANSSOUCI, POTSDAM
1619

STUDY FOR HEAD OF ST. GEORGE
LOUVRE, PARIS
1619

PORTRAIT OF A MAN

CZERNIN GALLERY, VIENNA

1621

ST. FRANCIS WITH A ROSARY

MUSEUM FREDERICIANUM, CASSEL

ABOUT 1620

THE GARLANDED MADONNA

LOUVRE, PARIS

1621

THE THREE GRACES

ACADEMY, VIENNA

1618-1620

PAN AND SYRINX

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, LONDON

ABOUT 1620

THE MARCH OF SILENUS

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

ABOUT 1619

THE MARCH OF SILENUS

HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG

1615-1620

BOREAS AND OREITHYIA

ACADEMY, VIENNA

ABOUT 1620

PORTRAIT OF DOCTOR VAN THULDEN

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

ABOUT 1620

PORTRAIT OF A MAN
HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA
ABOUT 1620

ISABELLA BRANT
MAURITSHUIS, THE HAGUE
ABOUT 1620

CASTOR AND POLLUX SEIZING THE DAUGHTERS OF LEUCIPPUS

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

ABOUT 1619

ATALANTA AND THE CALYDONIAN BOAR

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

ABOUT 1620

NEPTUNE AND AMPHITRITE

MUSEUM, BERLIN

1615-1618

THE FOUR QUARTERS OF THE GLOBE (THE FOUR RIVERS)

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

ABOUT 1620

TIGRESS SUCKLING HER YOUNG

ACADEMY, VIENNA

ABOUT 1620

THE HEAD OF MEDUSA
HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA
1620-1625

THE SHIPWRECK OF ÆNEAS

MUSEUM, BERLIN

1620-1625

THE WATERING PLACE

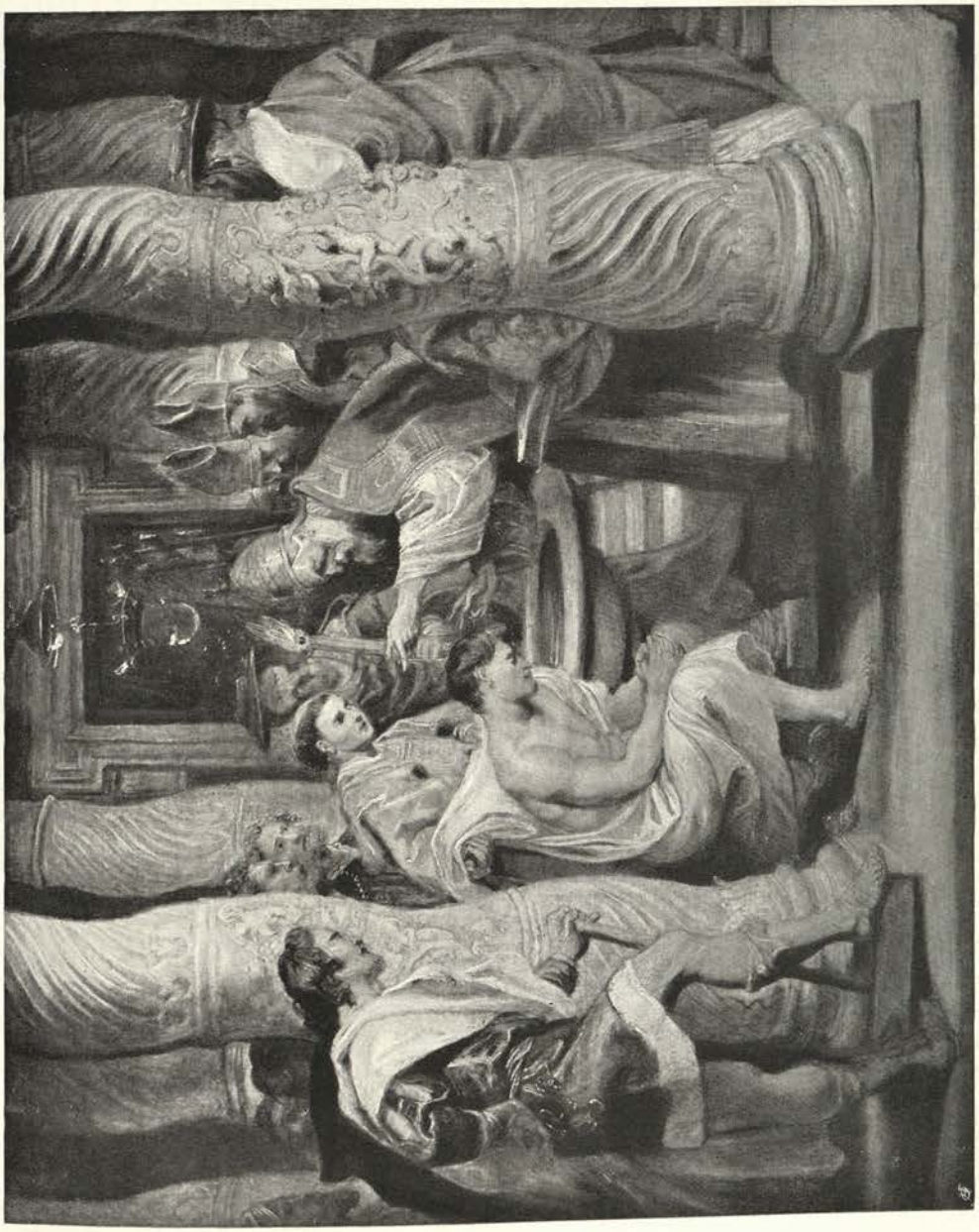
COLLECTION OF THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH, MONTAGU HOUSE

1615-1625

THE VISION OF THE MONOGRAM OF CHRIST

COLLECTION OF MR. JOHN G. JOHNSON, PHILADELPHIA, U.S.A.

1621-1622



THE BAPTISM OF CONSTANTINE

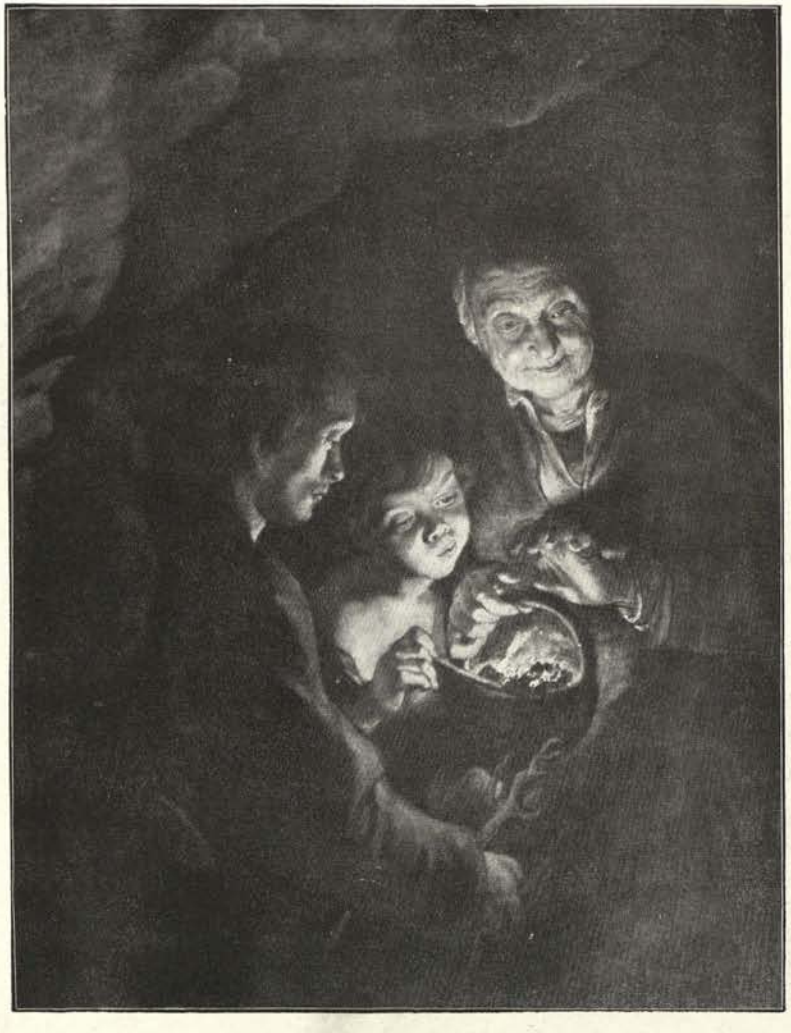
COLLECTION OF M. E. BISCHOFFSHEIM, PARIS

1621-1622

VENUS AT THE FORGE OF VULCAN

ROYAL MUSEUM, BRUSSELS

ABOUT 1622



OLD WOMAN WITH BRAZIER

ROYAL GALLERY, DRESDEN

ABOUT 1622

PORTRAIT OF NICOLAS RESPAIGNE IN ORIENTAL DRESS

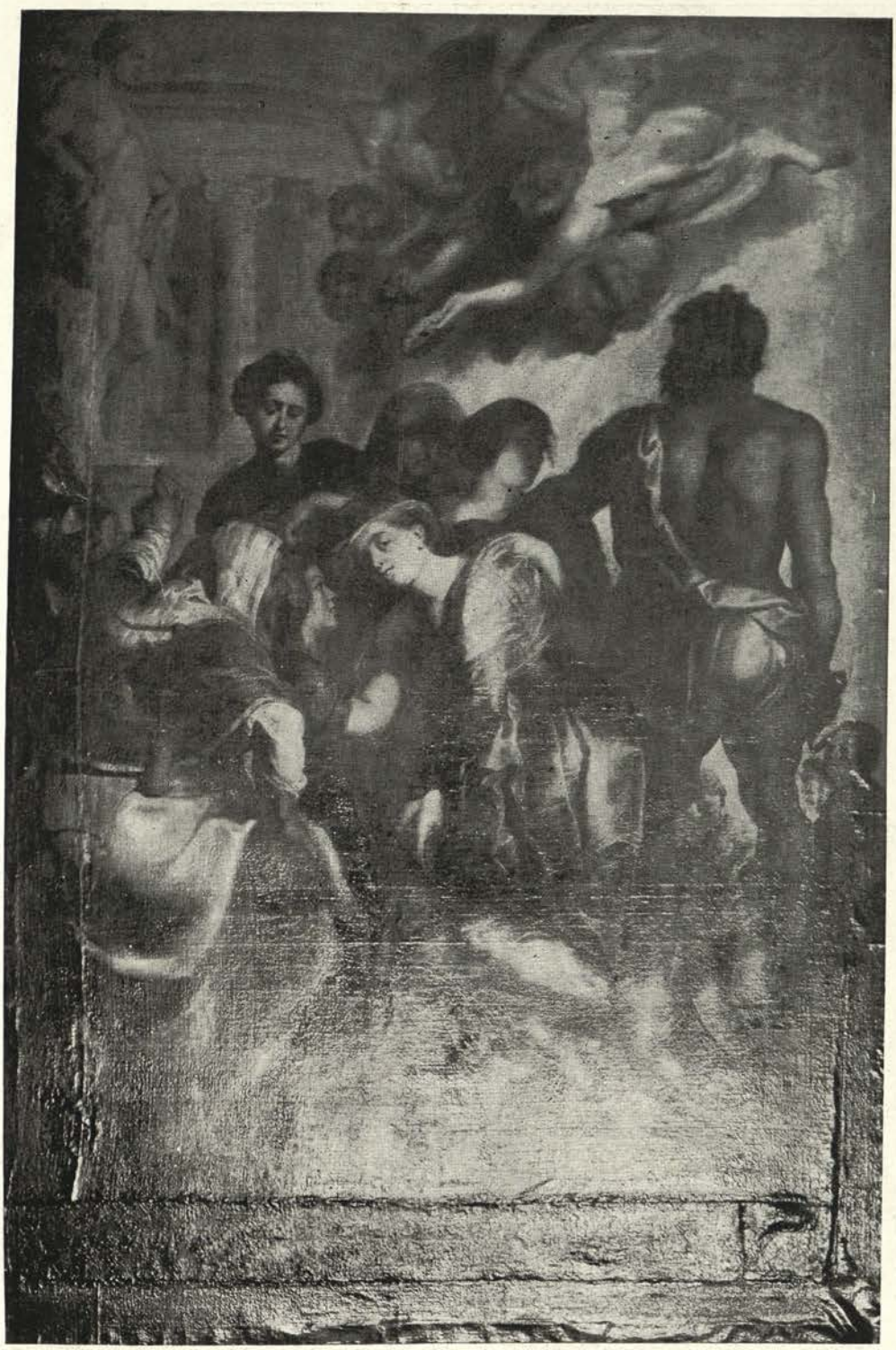
ROYAL GALLERY, CASSEL

1623-1624

THE CONVERSION OF S. BAVON

CHURCH OF S. BAVON, GHENT

1624



MARTYRDOM OF ST. CATHERINE

CHURCH OF ST. CATHERINE, LILLE

ABOUT 1622

ADORATION OF THE KINGS

MUSEUM, ANTWERP

1624

HOLY FAMILY ADORED BY SAINTS

ROYAL GALLERY, CASSEL

1620-1625

THE RAISING OF LAZARUS

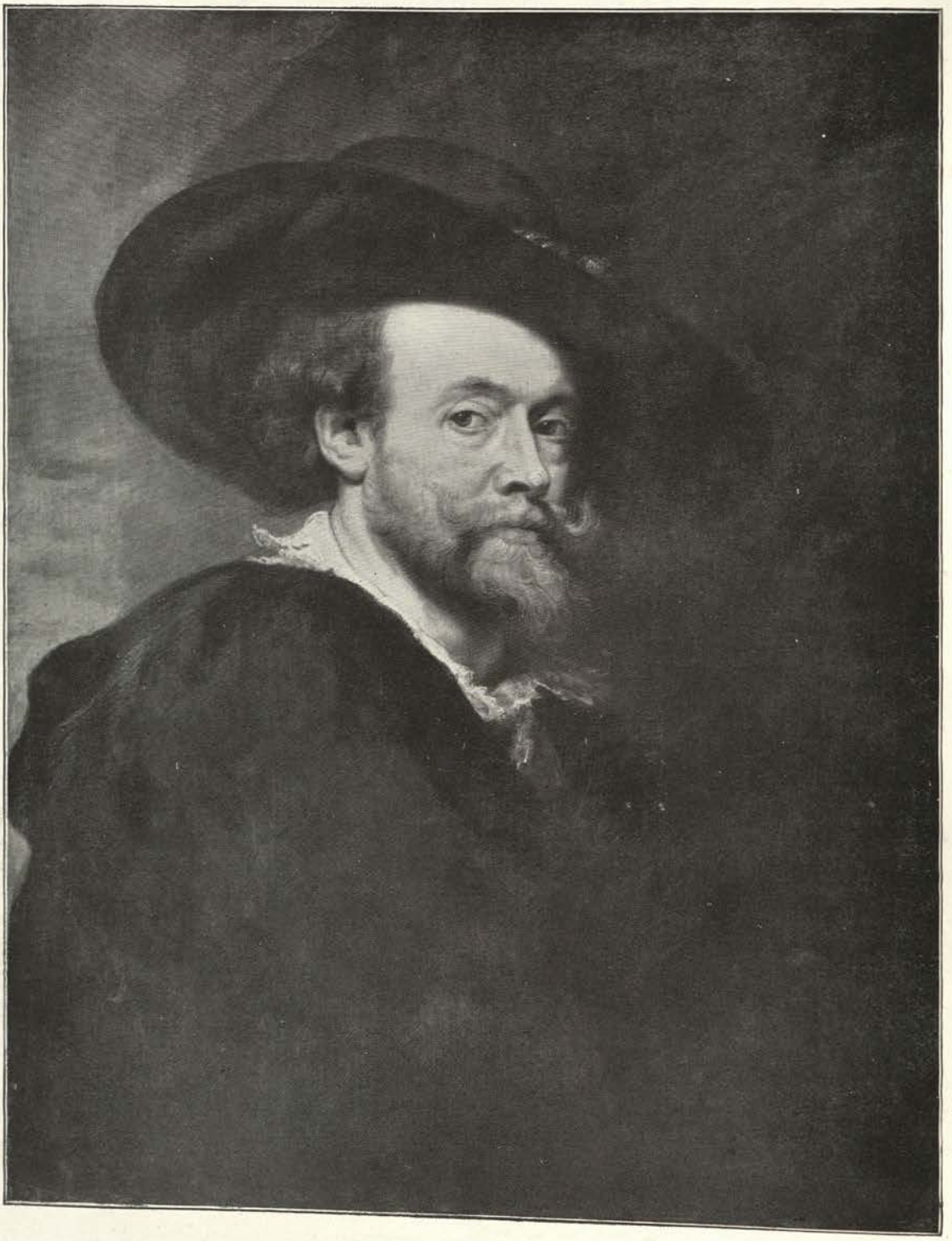
MUSEUM, BERLIN

ABOUT 1624

SUSANNA FOURMENT

LOUVRE, PARIS

ABOUT 1623



PORTRAIT OF RUBENS

WINDSOR CASTLE

1623

ISABELLA BRANT

HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG

1623-1625

ISABELLA BRANT

UFFIZI, FLORENCE

1623-1625

YOUNG WOMAN WITH MIRROR

ROYAL GALLERY, CASSEL

1620-1625

PORTRAIT OF FRANCESCO DE MEDICI,
GRAND-DUKE OF TUSCANY
LOUVRE, PARIS
ABOUT 1624

PORTRAIT OF JOANNA OF AUSTRIA
GRAND-DUCHESS OF TUSCANY
LOUVRE, PARIS
ABOUT 1624

MARIE DE MÉDICIS

PRADO, MADRID

ABOUT 1623

MARIE DE MÉDICIS QUITTING PARIS. (SKETCH)

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

ABOUT 1622

HISTORY OF MARIE DE MÉDICIS
I.—THE FATES SPINNING HER DESTINY
LOUVRE, PARIS
1621-1625

HISTORY OF MARIE DE MÉDICIS
II.—HER BIRTH
LOUVRE, PARIS
1621-1625

HISTORY OF MARIE DE MÉDICIS
III.—HER EDUCATION
LOUVRE, PARIS
1621-1625

HISTORY OF MARIE DE MÉDICIS
IV.—HENRY IV RECEIVING HER PORTRAIT
LOUVRE, PARIS
1621-1625

HISTORY OF MARIE DE MÉDICIS
V.—HER MARRIAGE BY PROXY TO HENRY IV
LOUVRE, PARIS
1621-1625

HISTORY OF MARIE DE MÉDICIS
VI.—HER LANDING AT MARSEILLES
LOUVRE, PARIS
1621-1625

HISTORY OF MARIE DE MÉDICIS
VII.—HER MARRIAGE WITH HENRY IV
LOUVRE, PARIS
1621-1625

HISTORY OF MARIE DE MÉDICIS
VIII.—THE BIRTH OF LOUIS XIII
LOUVRE, PARIS
1621-1625

HISTORY OF MARIE DE MÉDICIS
IX.—HENRY IV LEAVES FOR THE WAR
LOUVRE, PARIS
1621-1625

HISTORY OF MARIE DE MÉDICIS
X.—HER CORONATION
LOUVRE, PARIS
1621-1623

HISTORY OF MARIE DE MÉDICIS
XI.—THE APOTHEOSIS OF HENRY IV
LOUVRE, PARIS
1621-1625

HISTORY OF MARIE DE MÉDICIS
XII.—THE SCENE IN OLYMPUS
LOUVRE, PARIS
1621-1625

HISTORY OF MARIE DE MÉDICIS
XIII.—JOURNEY TO PONT-DE-CÉ
LOUVRE, PARIS
1621-1625

HISTORY OF MARIE DE MÉDICIS
XIV.—THE EXCHANGE OF THE PRINCESSES
LOUVRE, PARIS
1621-1625

HISTORY OF MARIE DE MÉDICIS
XV.—THE PROSPEROUS REGENCY

LOUVRE, PARIS
1625

HISTORY OF MARIE DE MÉDICIS
XVI.—THE MAJORITY OF LOUIS XIII
LOUVRE, PARIS
1621-1625

HISTORY OF MARIE DE MÉDICIS
XVII.—THE FLIGHT FROM BLOIS
LOUVRE, PARIS
1621-1625

HISTORY OF MARIE DE MÉDICIS
XVIII.—THE RECONCILIATION WITH HER SON
LOUVRE, PARIS
1621-1625

HISTORY OF MARIE DE MÉDICIS
XIX.—THE CONCLUSION OF PEACE
LOUVRE, PARIS
1621-1625

HISTORY OF MARIE DE MÉDICIS
XX.—THE INTERVIEW WITH HER SON
LOUVRE, PARIS
1621-1625

HISTORY OF MARIE DE MÉDICIS
XXI.—THE TRIUMPH OF TRUTH
LOUVRE, PARIS
1621-1625

A LADY-IN-WAITING TO THE ARCHDUCHESS ISABELLA

HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG

ABOUT 1625

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

PITTI, FLORENCE

1625

ANNE OF AUSTRIA, WIFE OF LOUIS XIII

LOUVRE, PARIS

1622-1625

ANNE OF AUSTRIA, WIFE OF LOUIS XIII

PRADO, MADRID

1625

AMBROGIO SPINOLA

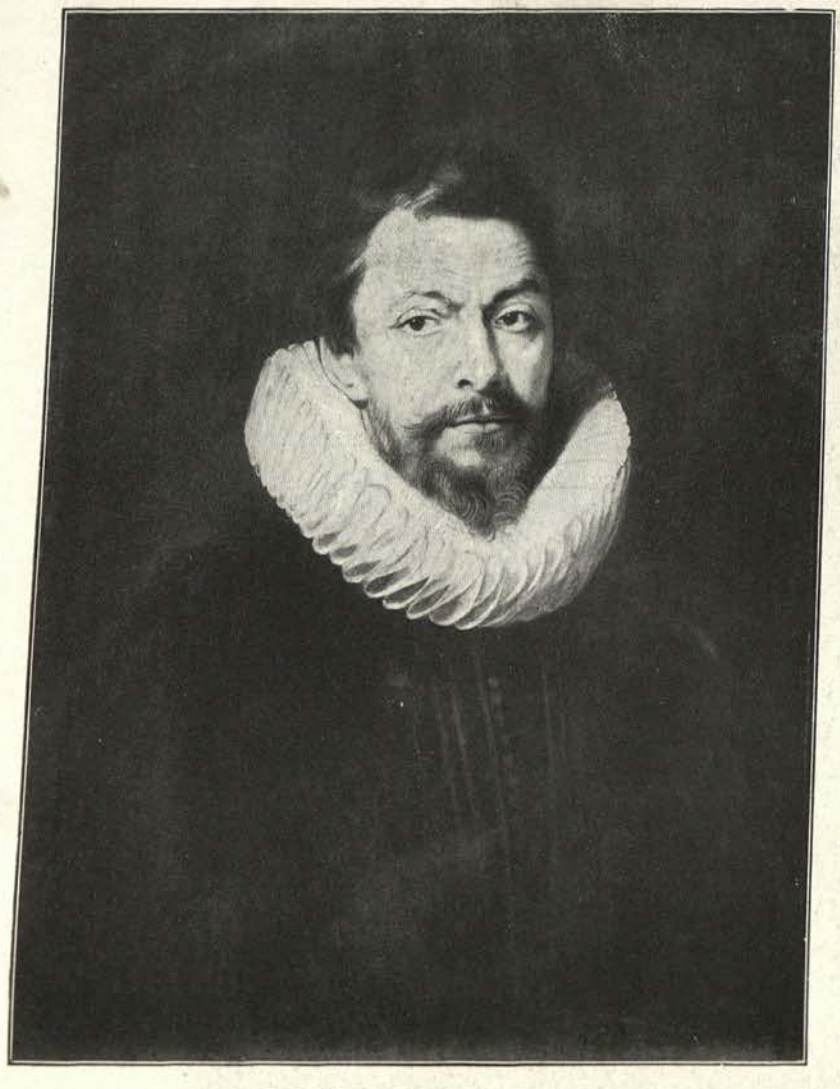
MUSEUM, BRUNSWICK

1625

AMBROGIO SPINOLA

DURAND-RUEL COLLECTION, PARIS

1625



BARON HENRI DE VICQ

LOUVRE, PARIS

1625

PORTRAIT OF AN ELDERLY MAN

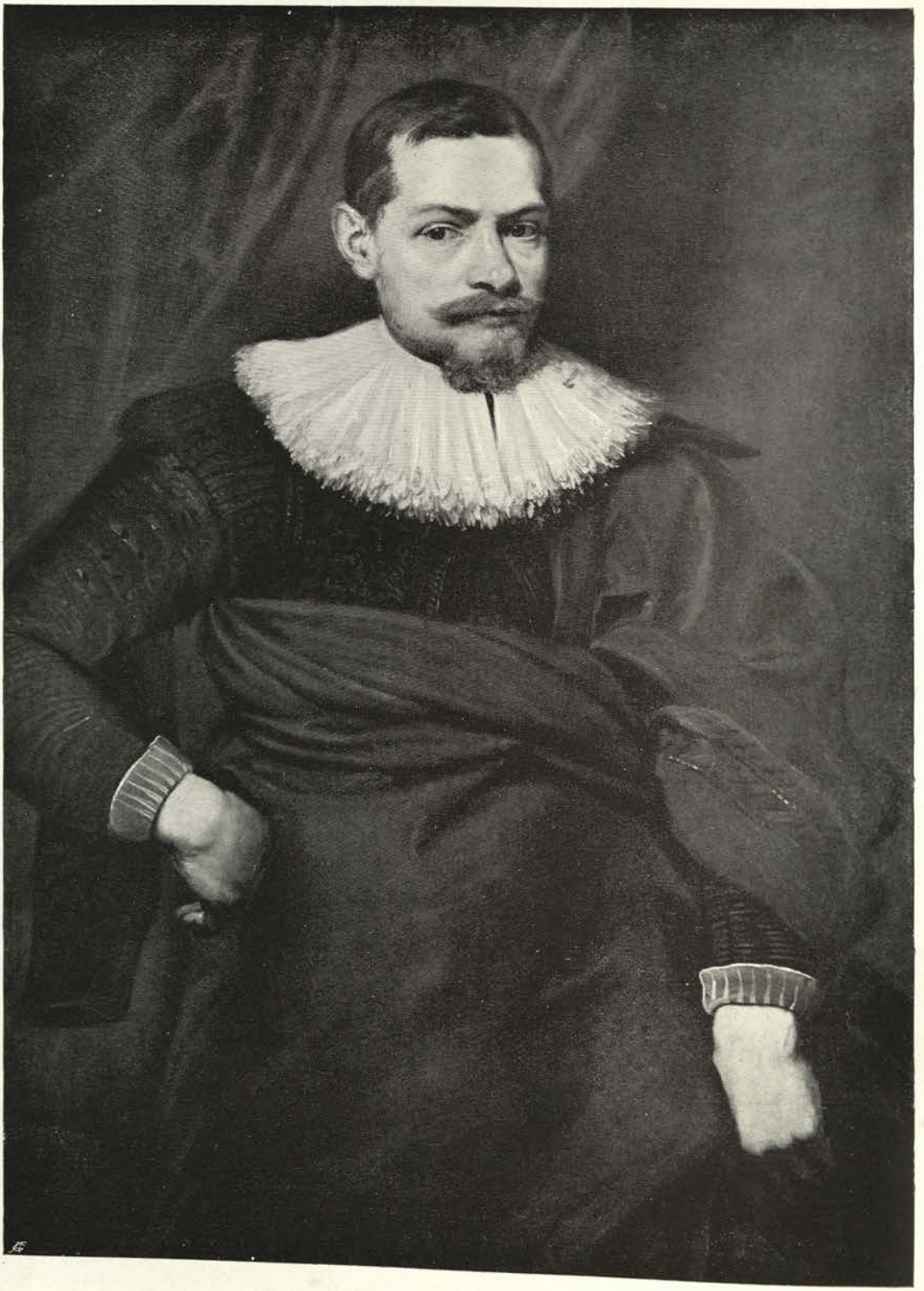
HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

ABOUT 1625

PORTRAIT OF A LADY—"VIRGO BRABANTINA"

COLLECTION OF MR. CHARLES BUTLER, LONDON

ABOUT 1625



PORTRAIT OF A MAN

MUSEUM, ANTWERP

ABOUT 1625

ST. PEPIN AND ST. BEGA

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

ABOUT 1625

THE EDUCATION OF THE VIRGIN

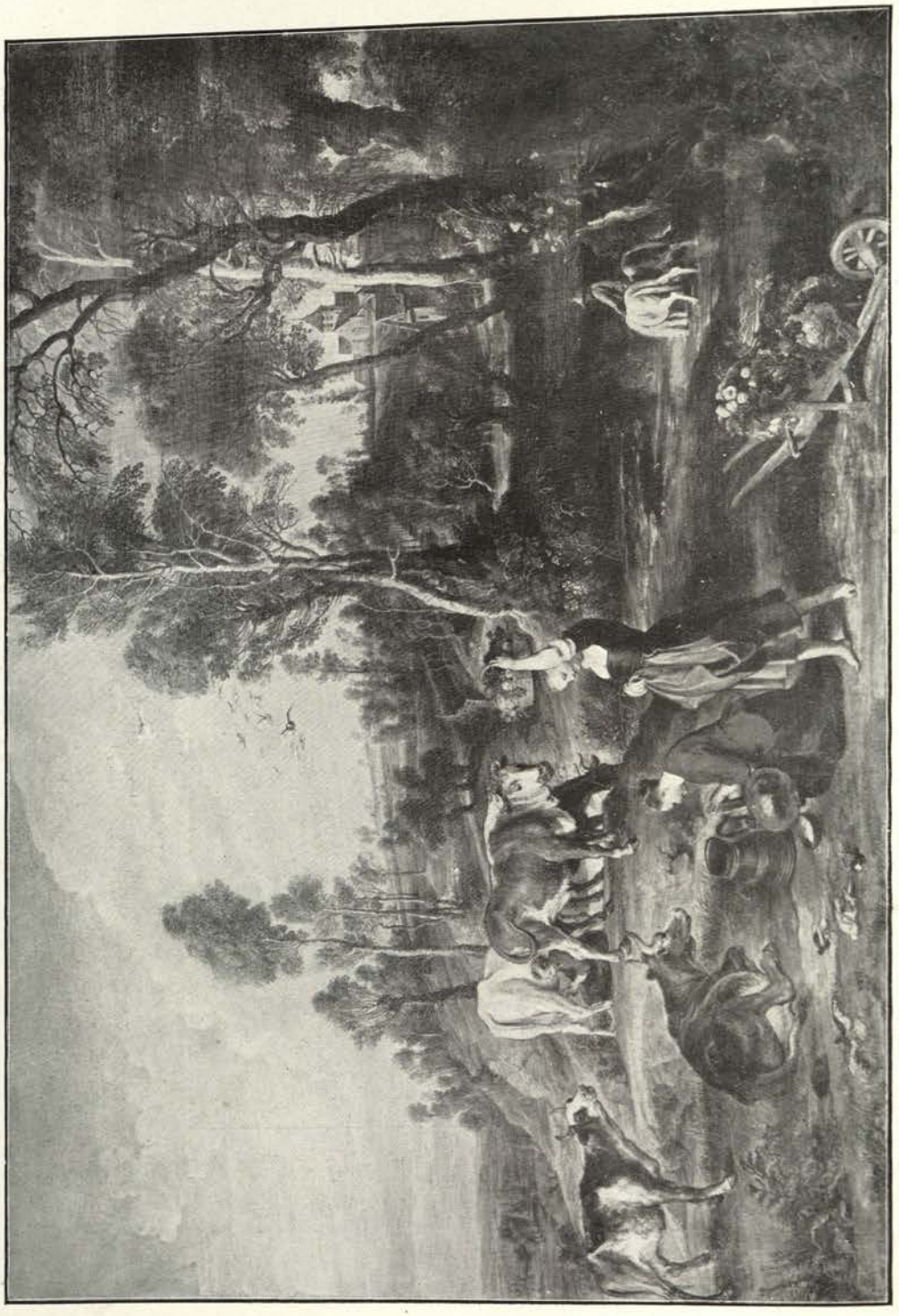
MUSEUM, ANTWERP

ABOUT 1625

LANDSCAPE—THE WATERING-PLACE

LIECHTENSTEIN GALLERY, VIENNA

ABOUT 1625



THE DAIRY FARM AT LAEKEN

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, LONDON

ABOUT 1625

LANDSCAPE WITH COWS AND MILKMAID

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

ABOUT 1625

SAMSON AND THE LION

NATIONAL MUSEUM, STOCKHOLM

ABOUT 1625

CARITAS ROMANA

RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

ABOUT 1625

A FRANCISCAN MONK

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

ABOUT 1625

CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN

ROYAL MUSEUM, BRUSSELS

ABOUT 1625

LOT DEPARTING FROM SODOM

LOUVRE, PARIS

1625

THE HERMIT AND THE SLEEPING ANGELICA

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

ABOUT 1625

APOLLO EXPELLING DIANA
LIECHTENSTEIN GALLERY, VIENNA
ABOUT 1625

CIMON AND IFIGENIA

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

ABOUT 1625

THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS
ROYAL GALLERY, DRESDEN
ABOUT 1625

THREE NYMPHS WITH CORNUCOPIA

PRADO, MADRID

1625-1627

THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN

CATHEDRAL, ANTWERP

ABOUT 1626

THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN

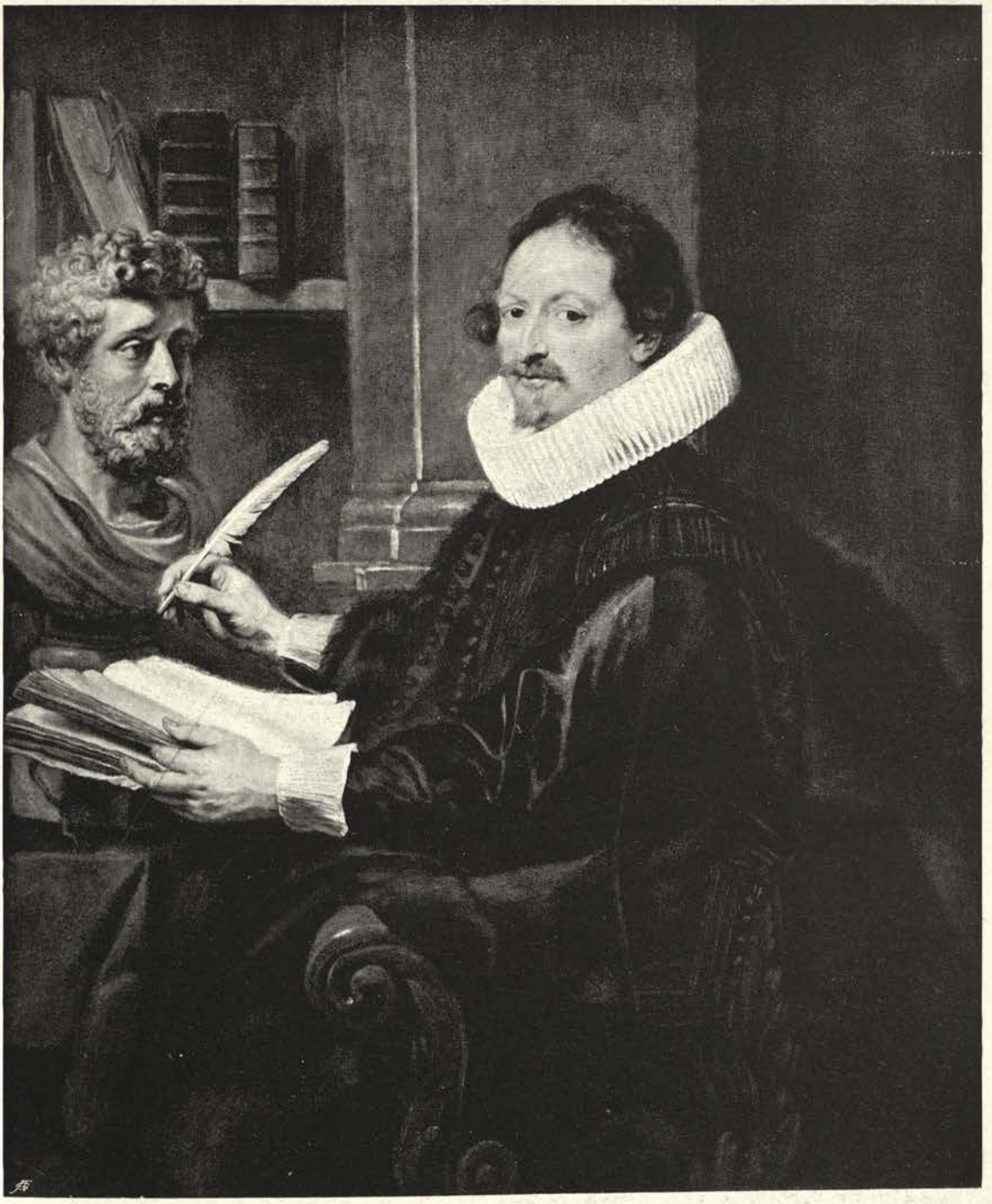
CHURCH OF THE HOLY CROSS, AUGSBURG

ABOUT 1626

THE MARCH OF SILENUS

NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON

1625-1630



CASPAR GEVARTIUS

MUSEUM, ANTWERP

ABOUT 1628

PORTRAIT OF A LADY

COLLECTION OF BARON GUSTAVE DE ROTHSCHILD, PARIS

1620-1630

PORTRAIT OF A LADY

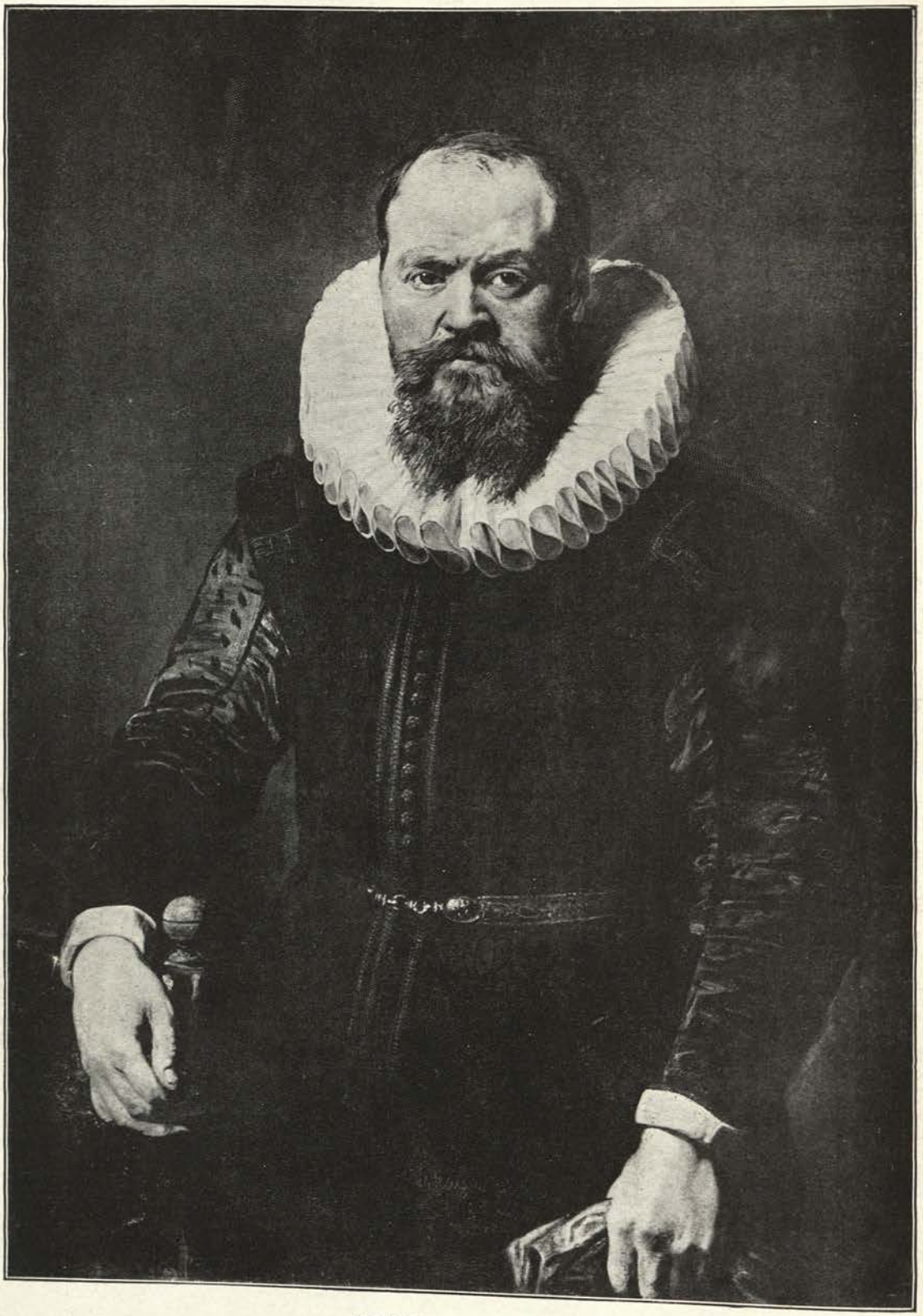
HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

1625-1630

ALBERT AND NICOLAS RUBENS

LIECHTENSTEIN GALLERY, VIENNA

ABOUT 1626



PORTRAIT OF A MAN

MUSEUM, BRUNSWICK

1625-1630

PORTRAIT OF A LADY—ELIZABETH OR HELEN FOURMENT (?)

WINDSOR CASTLE

1625-1630

HOLY FAMILY

PRADO, MADRID

1625-1628

THE BETRAYAL OF SAMSON

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

1625-1630

THOMYRIS AND CYRUS

COLLECTION OF LORD DARNLEY, COBHAM HALL

ABOUT 1626

THE MEETING OF ABRAHAM AND MELCHISEDEK

COLLECTION OF THE DUKE OF WESTMINSTER, LONDON

1627

THE FOUR EVANGELISTS

PRADO, MADRID

1627

THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH

PRADO, MADRID

1627

THE TRIUMPH OF THE EUCHARIST OVER HERESY

PRADO, MADRID

1627

THE TRIUMPH OF THE EUCHARIST OVER IGNORANCE
PRADO, MADRID
1627

THE TRIUMPH OF THE EUCHARIST OVER HERESY

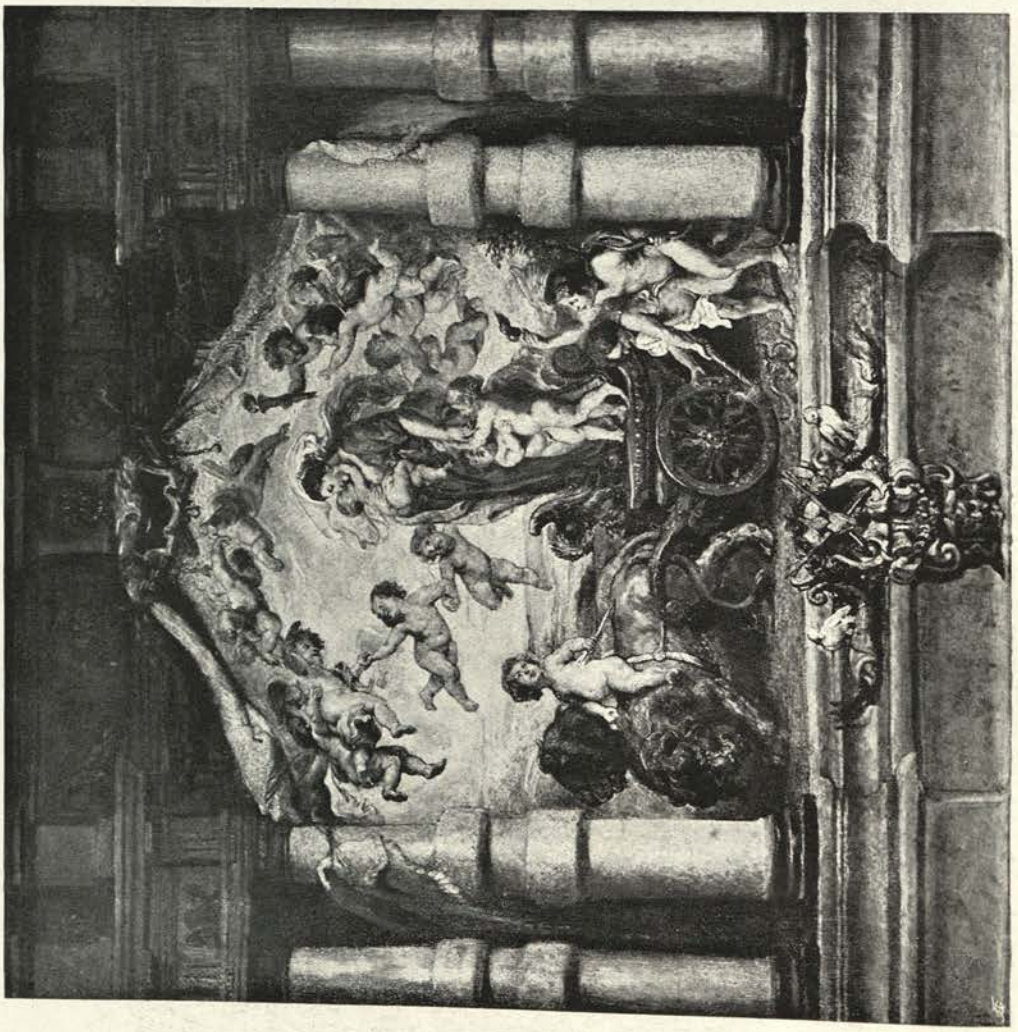
PRADO, MADRID

1627

THE TRIUMPH OF THE EUCHARIST OVER IGNORANCE

PRADO, MADRID

1627



THE TRIUMPH OF DIVINE LOVE

PRADO, MADRID

1627

THE TRIUMPH OF THE EUCHARIST OVER PAGANISM

PRADO, MADRID

1627

THE VIRGIN ENTHRONED WITH ST. CATHERINE AND OTHER SAINTS

AUGUSTINE CHURCH, ANTWERP

1628

THE VIRGIN ENTHRONED WITH ST. CATHERINE AND OTHER SAINTS. (SKETCH)

MUSEUM, BERLIN

1627-1628

THE VIRGIN ENTHRONED WITH ST. CATHERINE AND OTHER SAINTS. (SKETCH)

STAEDEL INSTITUTE, FRANKFORT-ON-THE-MAINE

1627-1628

JUDITH WITH THE HEAD OF HOLOFERNES

MUSEUM, BRUNSWICK

1625-1630

THE ADORATION OF THE KINGS

LOUVRE, PARIS

1627-1628

KING PHILIP IV

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

1628-1629

THE INFANTE DON FERDINAND IN CARDINAL'S ROBES

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

1628-1629

ELIZABETH OF BOURBON, WIFE OF PHILIP IV

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

1628-1629

ELIZABETH OF BOURBON, WIFE OF PHILIP IV

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

1628-1629

PHILIP II OF SPAIN ON HORSEBACK

PRADO, MADRID

1628-1629

THE EARL OF ARUNDEL

COLLECTION OF MRS. GARDNER, BOSTON, U.S.A.

1629-1630

ADAM AND EVE
(COPY OF TITIAN'S PICTURE)
PRADO, MADRID
1628-1629

EUROPA
(COPY OF TITIAN'S PICTURE)
PRADO, MADRID
1628-1629

VENUS, MARS AND CUPID

DULWICH COLLEGE GALLERY, LONDON

1629-1630

VENUS, MARS AND CUPID

MUSEUM, BERLIN

1629-1630

A DAUGHTER OF BALTHAZAR GERBIER

COLLECTION OF EARL SPENCER, ALTHORP

1629

WAR AND PEACE
NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON
1629-1630

WAR AND PEACE
ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH
ABOUT 1629

LANDSCAPE WITH ST. GEORGE

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, LONDON

1629-1630

THE BIRTH OF VENUS
NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON
1629-1630

THE APOTHEOSIS OF BUCKINGHAM

NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON

ABOUT 1629

SUSANNA FOURMENT AND HER DAUGHTER CATHERINE

HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG

ABOUT 1630

FRÉDÉRIC DE MARSELAER

PARIS (EX KÖNIGSWARTER COLLECTION)

ABOUT 1630

MATTHÄUS YRSSELIUS

CHRISTIANSBORG GALLERY, COPENHAGEN

ABOUT 1630

MICHEL OPHOVIUS
MAURITSHUIS, THE HAGUE
ABOUT 1630

THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN
MUSEUM, BERLIN
ABOUT 1630

THE CHOICE OF HERCULES

UFFIZI, FLORENCE

ABOUT 1630

HOLY FAMILY WITH ST. FRANCIS

WINDSOR CASTLE

1625-1635

HOLY FAMILY WITH ST. FRANCIS

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM, NEW YORK

1625-1635

THE DEATH OF ACHILLES

MUSEUM, BERLIN

ABOUT 1630

DIANA HUNTING A STAG

MUSEUM, BERLIN

ABOUT 1630

ENTRY OF HENRI IV INTO PARIS AFTER THE BATTLE OF IVRY

UFFIZI, FLORENCE

ABOUT 1630

HENRI IV AT THE BATTLE OF IVRY

UFFIZI, FLORENCE

ABOUT 1630

CAPTURE OF PARIS BY HENRI IV

MUSEUM, BERLIN

ABOUT 1630

THE BATTLE OF COUTRAS

LIECHTENSTEIN GALLERY, VIENNA

ABOUT 1630

HENRI IV SEIZING OPPORTUNITY

LIECHTENSTEIN GALLERY, VIENNA

ABOUT 1630

HOLY FAMILY UNDER THE APPLE TREE

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

1630-1631

THE MIRACLE OF ST. ILDEFONSO

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

1630-1631

THE MIRACLE OF ST. ILDEFONSO

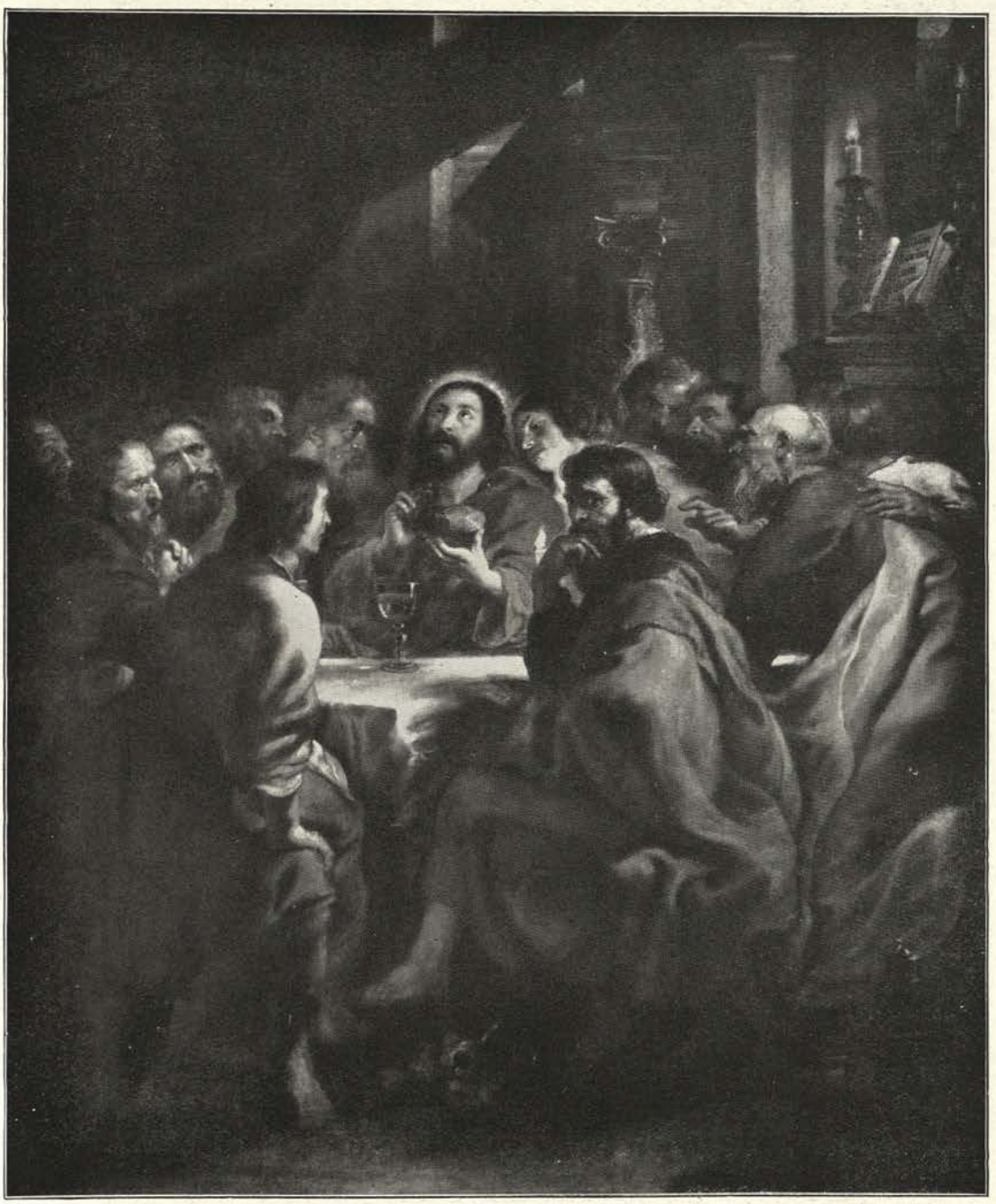
HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG

ABOUT 1630

THOMYRIS AND CYRUS

LOUVRE, PARIS

1630-1632



THE LAST SUPPER

BRERA, MILAN

1632

HELEN FOURMENT

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

1630

HELEN FOURMENT IN A FUR CLOAK

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

1631

RUBENS AND HELEN WALKING IN THE GARDEN. "THE MORNING WALK"

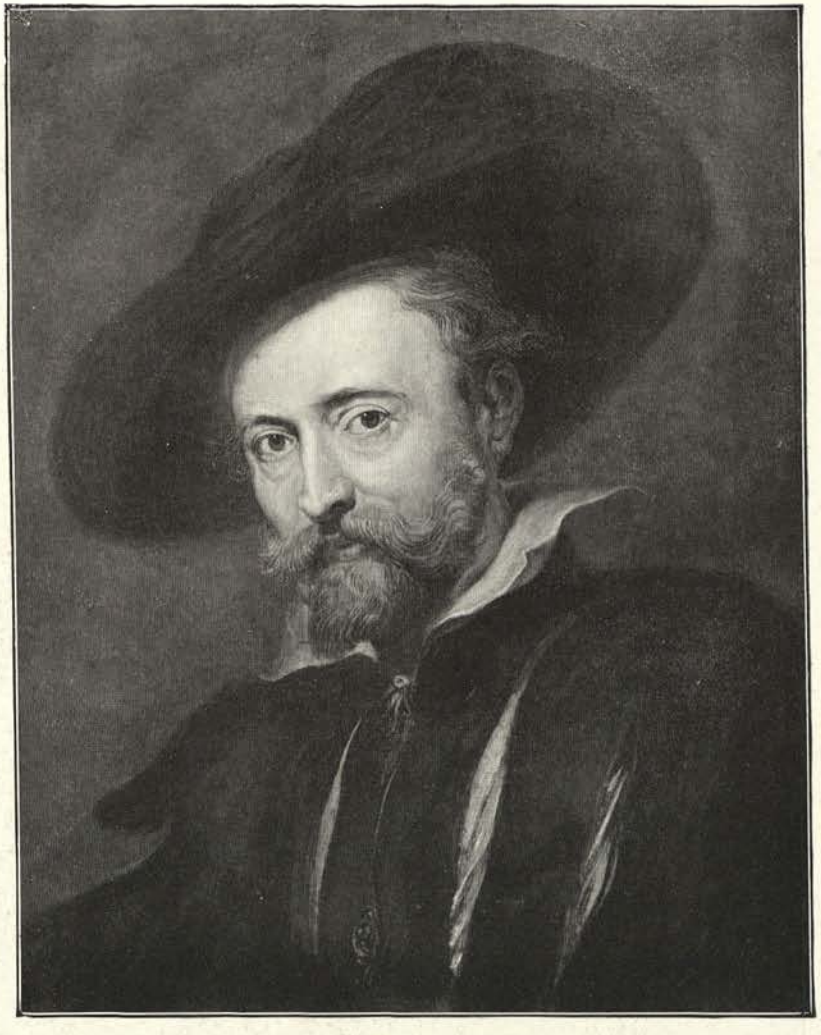
ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

1631

HELEN FOURMENT

COLLECTION OF THE LATE CONSUL WEBER, HAMBURG

ABOUT 1630



PORTRAIT OF RUBENS

COLLECTION OF THE DUKE OF ARENBERG, BRUSSELS

1631

HELEN FOURMENT
ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH
ABOUT 1634

HELEN FOURMENT
RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM
ABOUT 1631

RUBENS AND HELEN IN GARDEN WITH CHILD IN LEADING STRINGS

HEIRS OF BARON ALPHONSE DE ROTHSCHILD, PARIS

ABOUT 1635

HELEN FOURMENT

HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG

1632-1635

HELEN FOURMENT WITH HER CHILDREN

LOUVRE, PARIS

ABOUT 1636

HELEN FOURMENT
MAURITSHUIS, THE HAGUE
ABOUT 1634

HELEN FOURMENT
ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH
1636-1639

HELEN FOURMENT

HEIRS OF BARON ALPHONSE DE ROTHSCHILD, PARIS

1636-1639

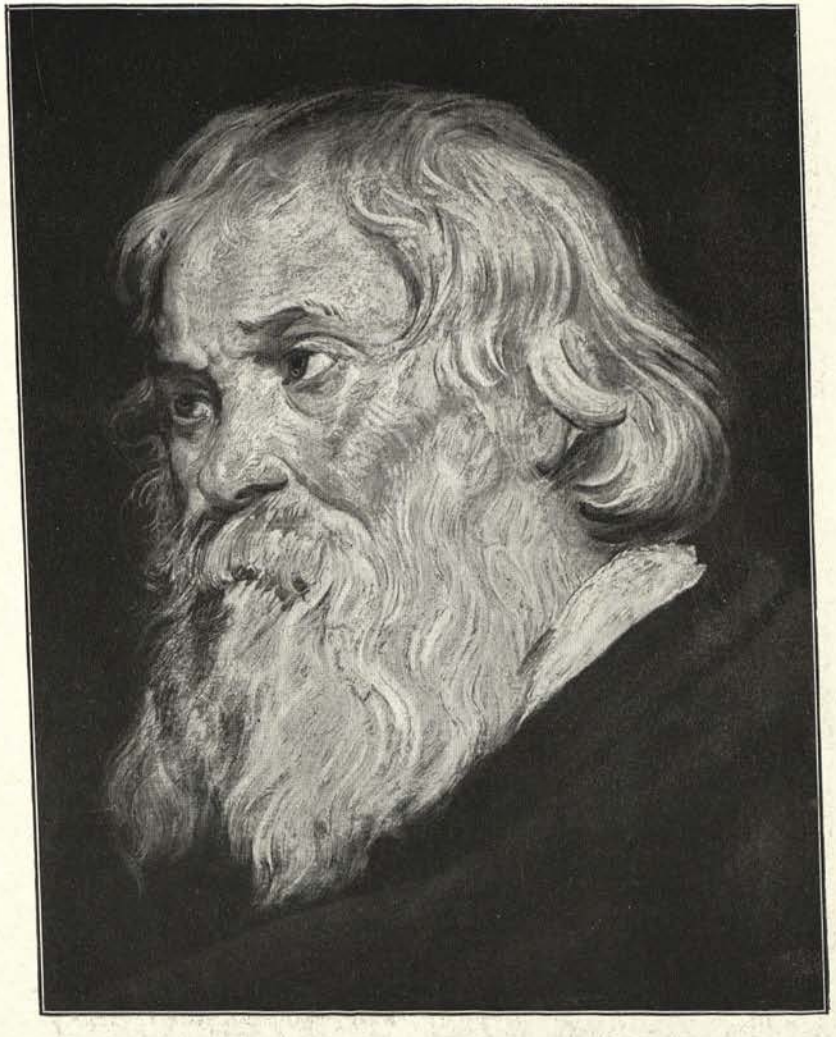
PORTRAIT OF A MONK
COLLECTION OF THE DUKE OF ARENBERG, BRUSSELS
1630-1635

PORTRAIT OF A MAN
COLLECTION OF THE DUKE OF ARENBERG, BRUSSELS
1630-1635

PORTRAIT OF A MAN

COLLECTION OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON, LONDON

1630-1635



HEAD OF AN OLD MAN

HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG

1630-1635

DIANA AND NYMPHS SURPRISED BY SATYRS

ROYAL GALLERY, CASSEL

ABOUT 1632

THE DEATH OF DIDO

COLLECTION OF M. CHARLES DE BEISTEGNI, PARIS

1630-1635

THE MIRACLE OF ST. FRANCIS DE PAUL

ROYAL GALLERY, DRESDEN

ABOUT 1632

THREE GIRLS GATHERING FRUIT. ("L'ABONDANCE")

COLLECTION OF BARON EDMOND DE ROTHSCHILD, PARIS

1630-1635

NESSUS AND DEIANIRA

MUSEUM, HANOVER

1630-1635

PARK OF THE CASTLE OF STEEN

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

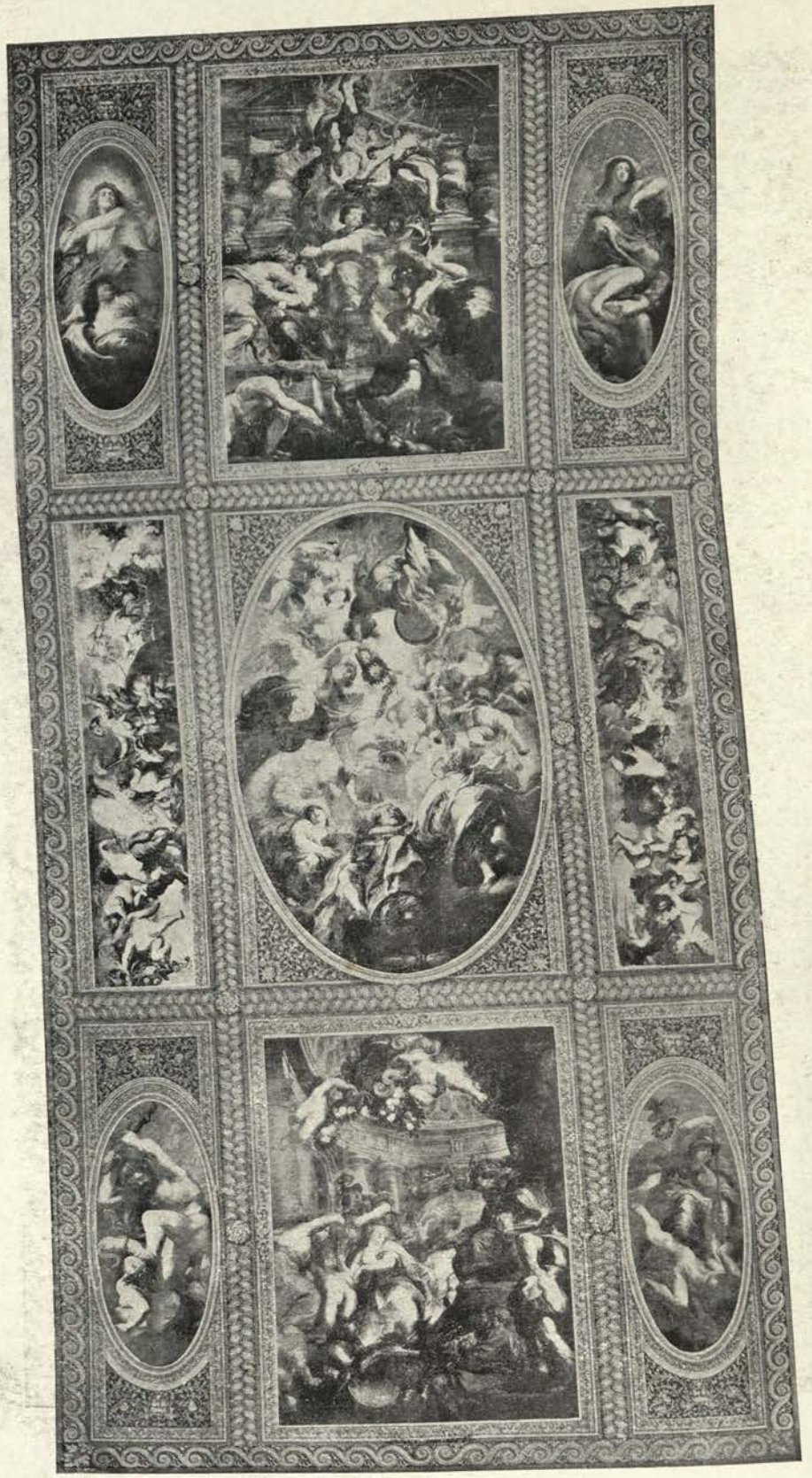
ABOUT 1635

THE ABDUCTION OF THE SABINE WOMEN
COLLECTION OF MR. ALFRED DE ROTHSCHILD, LONDON
1630-1635

THE RECONCILIATION OF THE ROMANS AND SABINES

COLLECTION OF MR. ALFRED DE ROTHSCHILD, LONDON

1630-1635



THE HAPPY REIGN AND APOTHEOSIS OF JAMES I

CEILING OF BANQUETING HOUSE, WHITEHALL, LONDON

1634-1635

THE APOTHEOSIS OF JAMES I

HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG

1630-1634

THE GOOD DEEDS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF JAMES I

ACADEMY, VIENNA

1630-1634

JAMES I DESIGNATING HIS SON AS KING OF SCOTLAND

HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG

1630-1634

THE WISE GOVERNMENT OF JAMES I TAMING REBELLION

COLLECTION OF FREIHERR A. VON OPPENHEIM, COLOGNE

1631-1634

DESIGN FOR 'ARCH OF HERCULES.' THE VICTORIES OF FERDINAND

HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG

1634-1635

DESIGN FOR TRIUMPHAL ARCH. THE VICTORIES OF FERDINAND

HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG

1634-1635

DESIGN FOR TRIUMPHAL ARCH. THE APOTHEOSIS OF THE ARCHDUCHESS ISABELLA

HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG

1634-1635

DESIGN FOR TRIUMPHAL ARCH. THE TRIUMPH OF FERDINAND

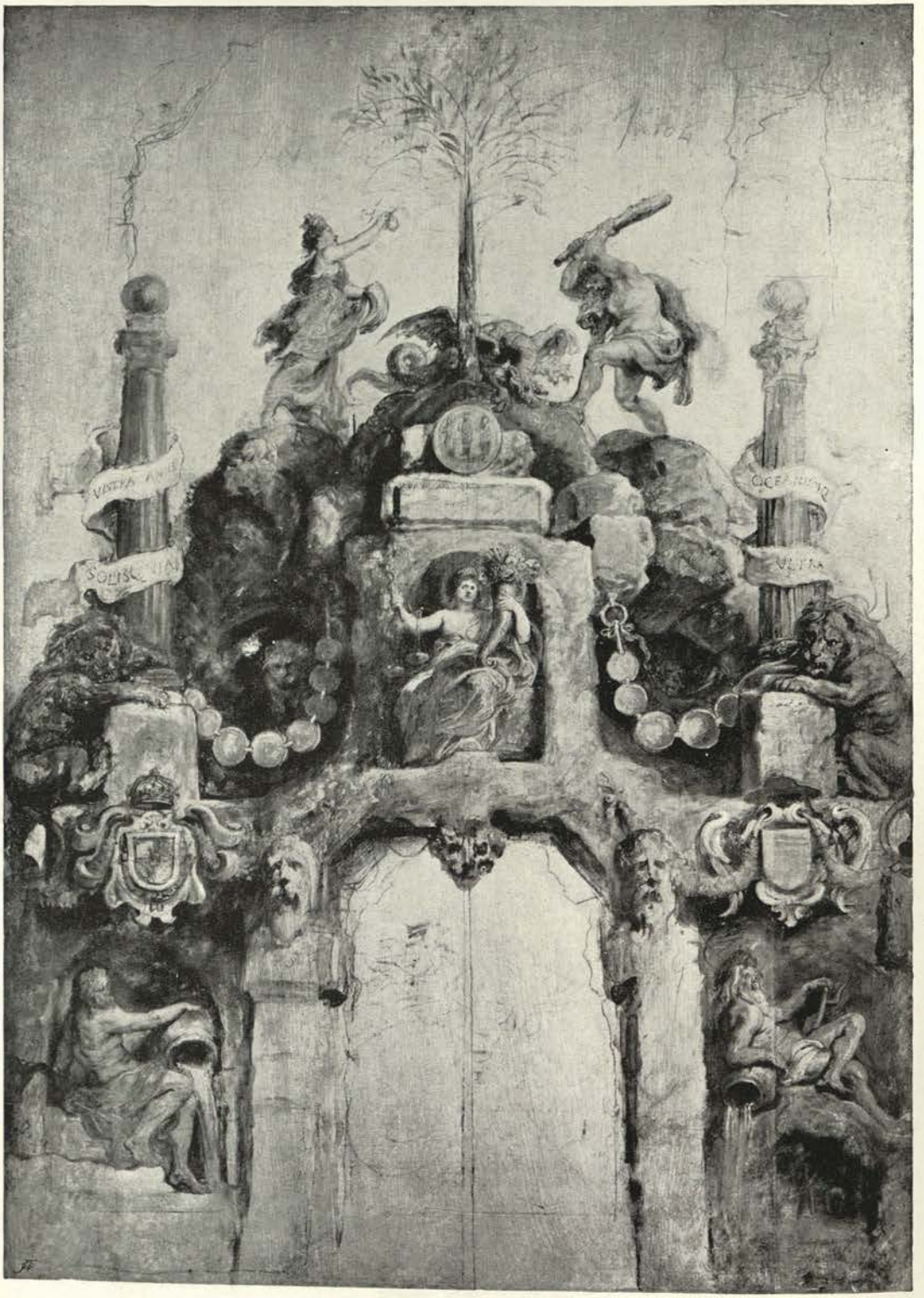
HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG

1634-1635

THE TEMPLE OF JANUS

HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG

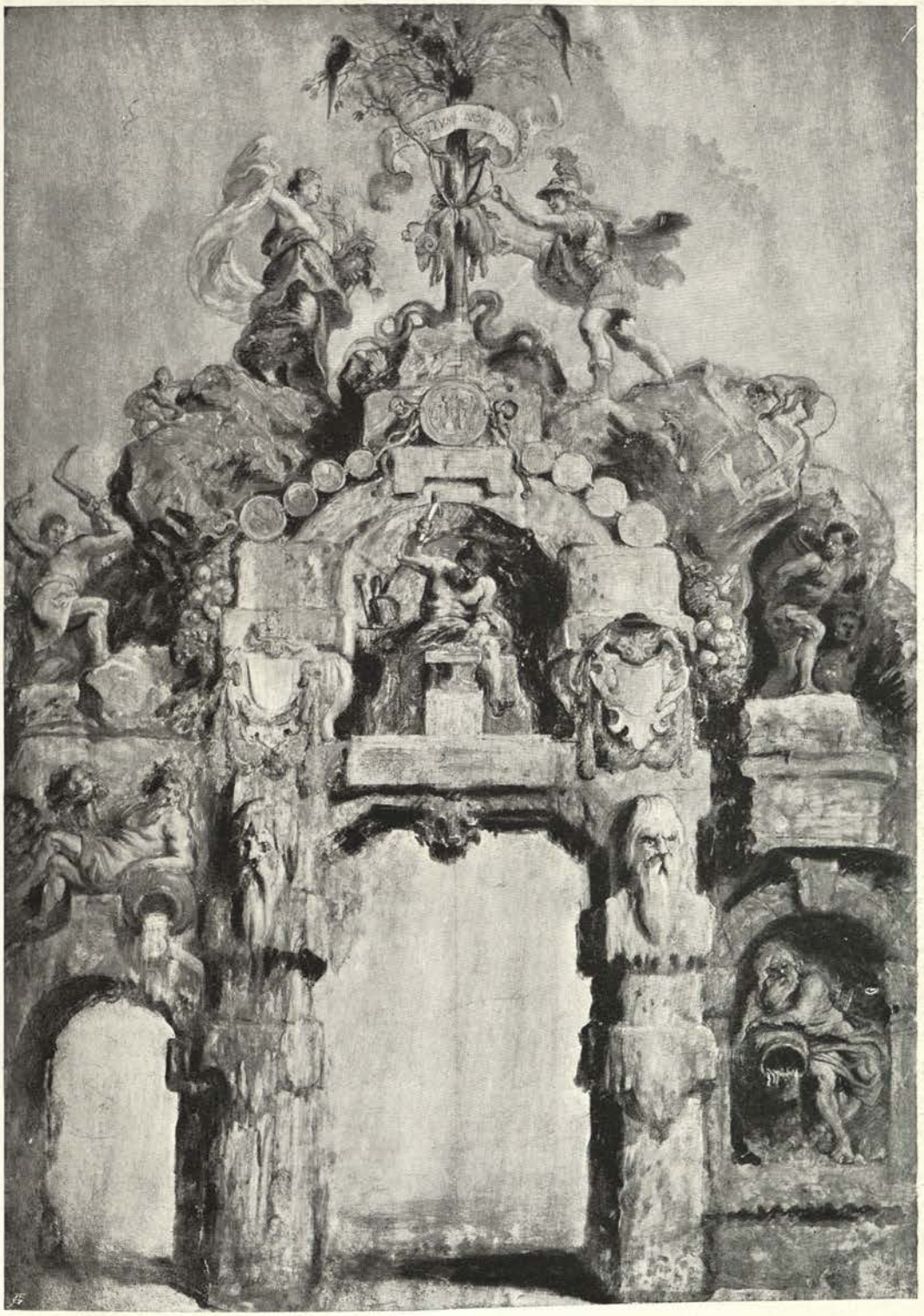
1654-1635



TRIUMPHAL ARCH OF THE MINT (FRONT)

MUSEUM, ANTWERP

1634-1635



TRIUMPHAL ARCH OF THE MINT (BACK)

MUSEUM, ANTWERP

1634-1635

MERCURY QUITTING ANTWERP

HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG

1634-1635

DESIGN FOR FIVE STATUES OF HABSBURG PRINCES

HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG

1634-1635

SKETCH FOR STATUES OF ALBERT II AND FERDINAND I

SUERMONDT MUSEUM, AIX-LA-CHAPELLE

1634-1635

FERDINAND LEAVING SPAIN. 'QUOS EGO'

ROYAL GALLERY, DRESDEN

1634-1635

THE TWO FERDINANDS AT THE BATTLE OF NÖRDLINGEN

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

1634-1635

THE ARCHDUKE ALBERT OF AUSTRIA

ROYAL MUSEUM, BRUSSELS

1634-1635

THE ARCHDUCHESS ISABELLA OF SPAIN

ROYAL MUSEUM, BRUSSELS

1634-1635

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN I
ACADEMY, VIENNA
1634-1635

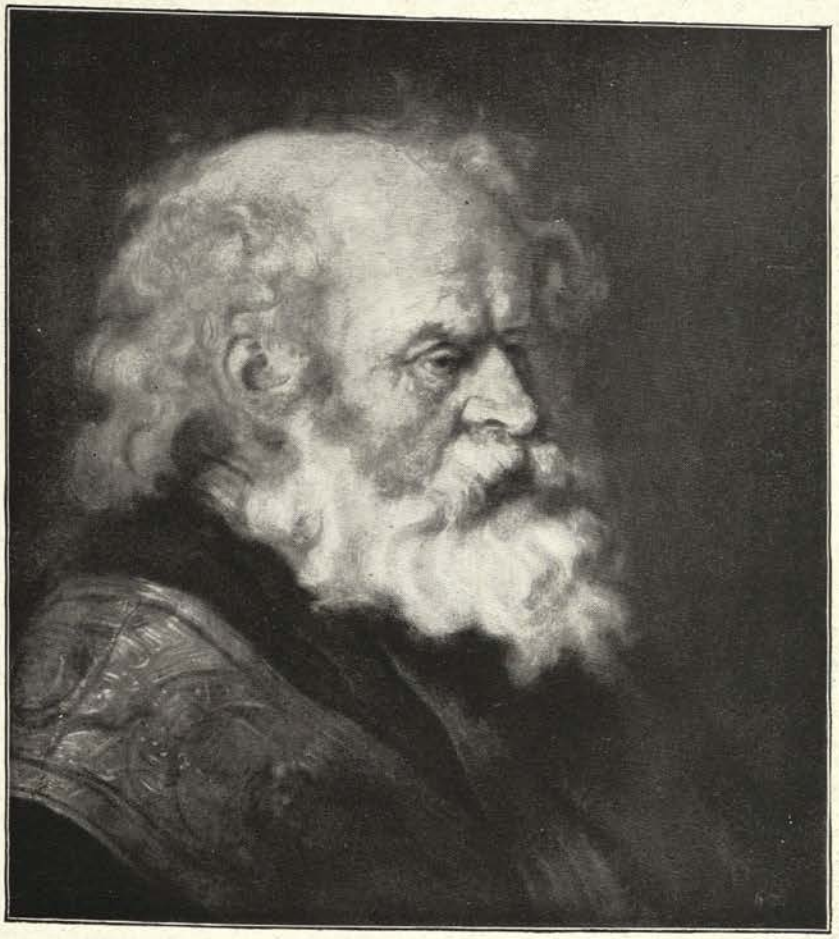
THE EMPEROR CHARLES V
ACADEMY, VIENNA
1634-1635

FERDINAND, KING OF HUNGARY
HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA
1634-1635

THE INFANTE FERDINAND OF SPAIN
HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA
1634-1635

CHARLES THE BOLD
HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA
ABOUT 1634

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN I
HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA
ABOUT 1634



BUST OF AN AGED BISHOP

ROYAL GALLERY, DRESDEN

1634

THE ARCHDUKE FERDINAND, CARDINAL INFANTE OF SPAIN

COLLECTION OF MR. J. PIERPONT MORGAN, LONDON

1635

THE INFANTE FERDINAND AT THE BATTLE OF NÖRDLINGEN

PRADO, MADRID

ABOUT 1635

JAN BRANT

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

1635

PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG WOMAN

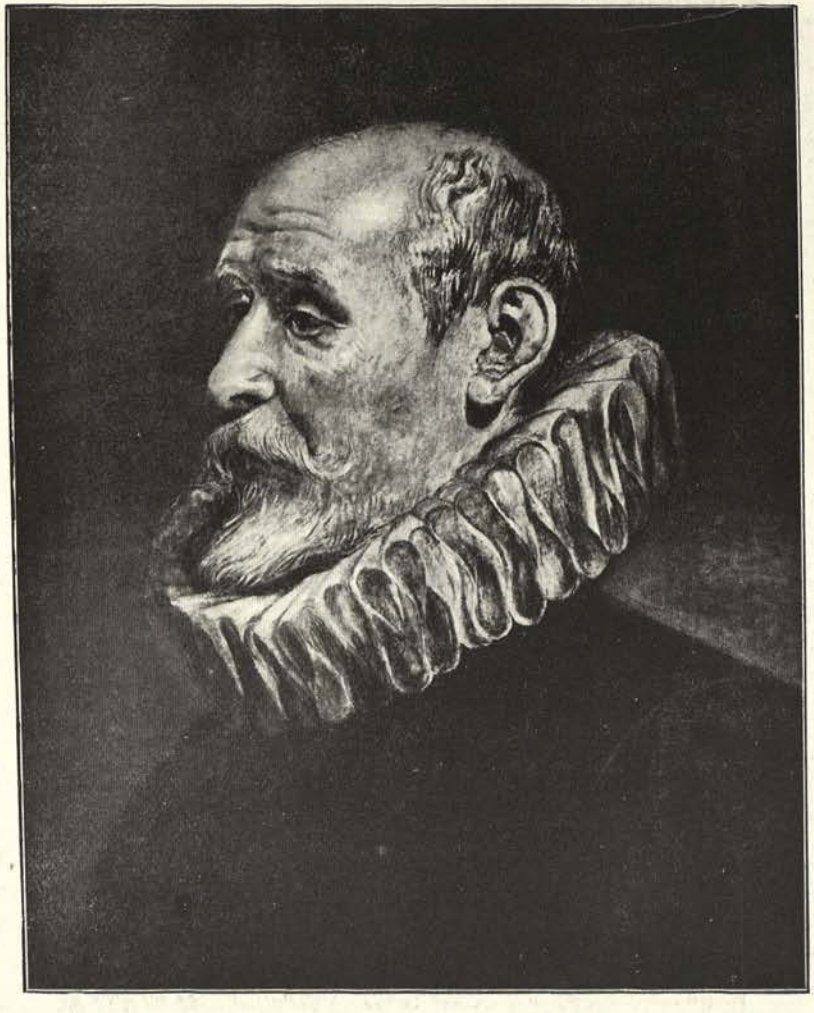
ROYAL GALLERY, DRESDEN

ABOUT 1635

PORTRAIT OF A MAN

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

ABOUT 1635



PORTRAIT OF AN OLD MAN

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

ABOUT 1635

ST. THERESA PRAYING FOR THE SOULS IN PURGATORY

MUSEUM, ANTWERP

ABOUT 1634

PORTRAIT OF PRINCE FREDERICK HENRY (?)
EX KANN COLLECTION, PARIS. (MESSRS. DUVEEN)
ABOUT 1635

THE HOLY FAMILY

WALLRAF-RICHARTZ MUSEUM, COLOGNE

ABOUT 1635

SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS
ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH
ABOUT 1635

BATHSHEBA AT THE FOUNTAIN

ROYAL GALLERY, DRESDEN

ABOUT 1635

THE MARRIAGE OF PELEUS AND THETIS

COLLECTION OF MR. J. P. HESELTINE, LONDON

ABOUT 1635

THE PENITENT MAGDALEN

COLLECTION OF MR. W. A. CLARK, NEW YORK

ABOUT 1635

THE PENITENT MAGDALEN

MUSEUM, BERLIN

ABOUT 1635

ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE

GALLERY, SANSSOUCI, POTSDAM

1630-1640

MELEAGER AND ATALANTA
ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH
ABOUT 1633

THE ABDUCTION OF THE SABINE WOMEN

NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON

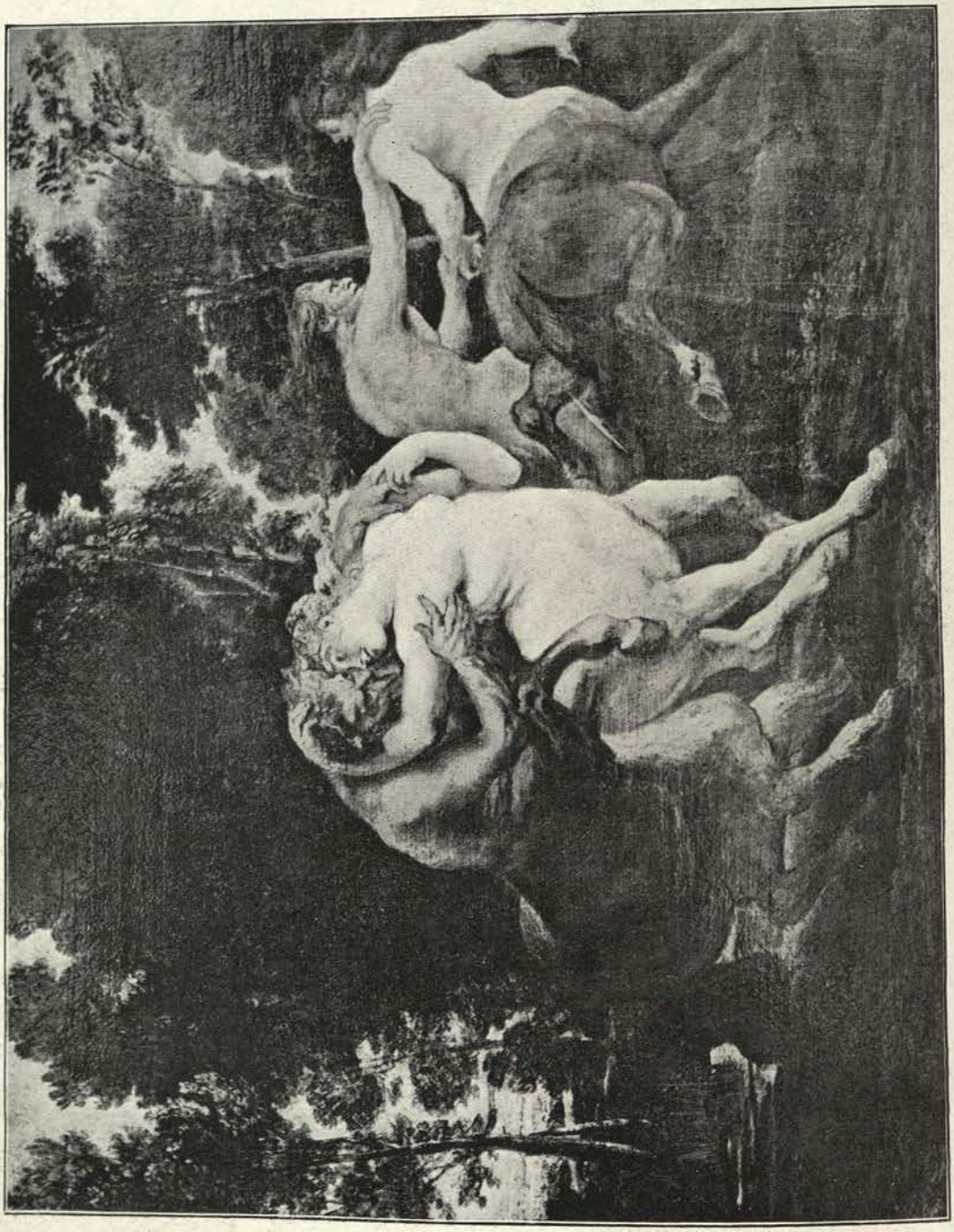
ABOUT 1635

THE MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS
ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH
ABOUT 1635

COUNT RUDOLF OF HABSBURG AND THE PRIEST

PRADO, MADRID

ABOUT 1636



THE LOVES OF THE CENTAURS
COLLECTION OF LORD ROSEBERY, LONDON
ABOUT 1635

ST. JUSTUS CARRYING HIS HEAD IN HIS HANDS

MUSEUM, BORDEAUX

ABOUT 1636

CHRIST BEARING THE CROSS

RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

ABOUT 1636

CHRIST BEARING THE CROSS

ROYAL MUSEUM, BRUSSELS

ABOUT 1636

THE DEAD CHRIST IN THE LAP OF THE VIRGIN

PRADO, MADRID

ABOUT 1636

THE BEHEADING OF ST. PAUL

COLLECTION OF LIEUT.-COL. HOLFORD, LONDON

1635-1637

THE BRAZEN SERPENT
NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON
ABOUT 1637

MARTYRDOM OF ST. ANDREW

FLEMISH HOSPITAL, MADRID

1637

HOLY FAMILY WITH SAINTS (REPOSE IN EGYPT)

PRADO, MADRID

1635-1638

NYMPHS AND SATYRS PLUCKING FRUIT

PRADO, MADRID

1636-1638

THE HORRORS OF WAR
PITTI, FLORENCE
ABOUT 1638

THE HORRORS OF WAR
NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON
1637-1638

HIPPODAMIA AND THE CENTAURS

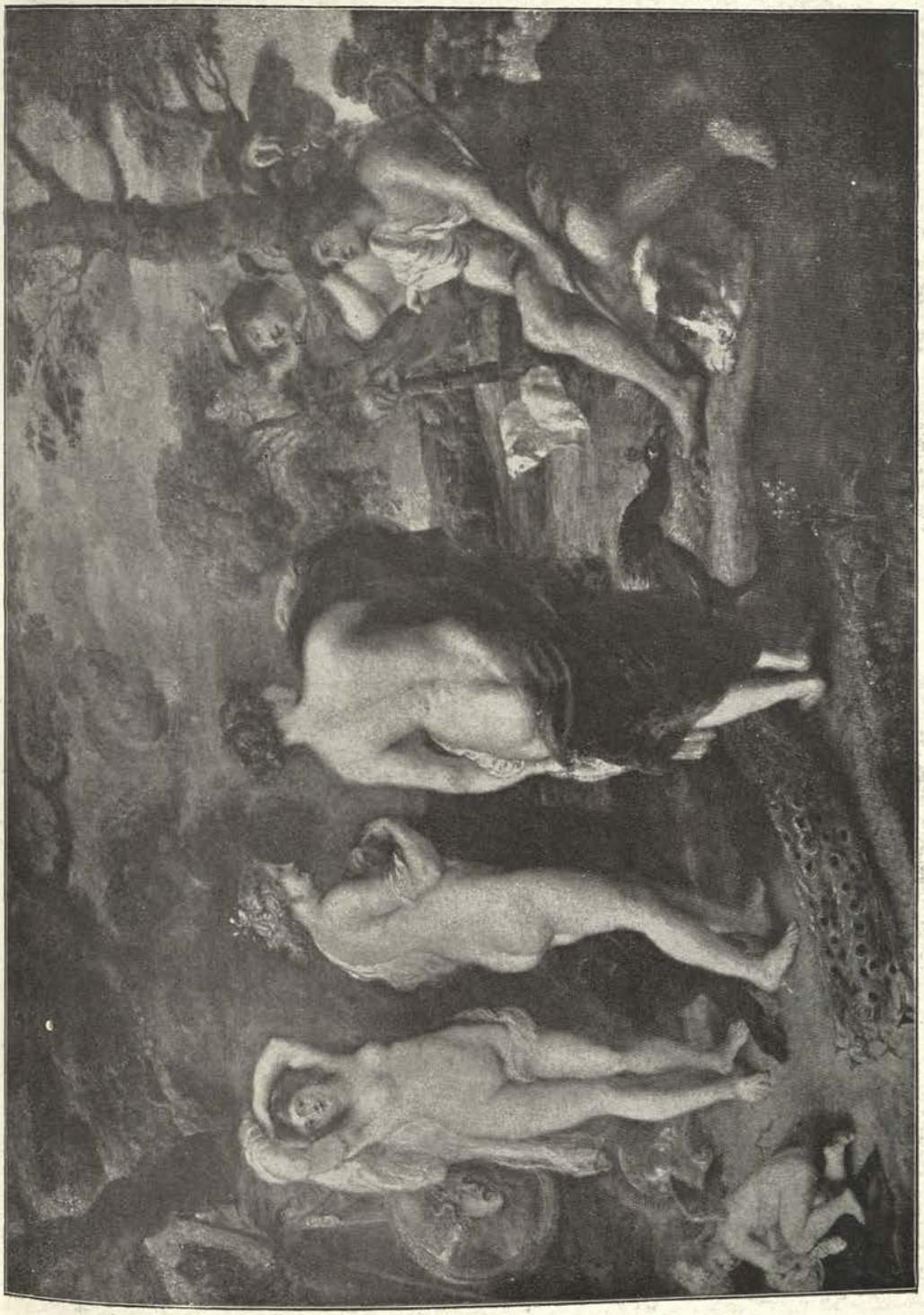
ROYAL MUSEUM, BRUSSELS

ABOUT 1636

THE FALL OF THE TITANS

ROYAL MUSEUM, BRUSSELS

ABOUT 1636



THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS
NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON
ABOUT 1636

DIANA AND CALLISTO

PRADO, MADRID

1636-1638

SHEPHERD AND SHEPHERDESS. "LE CROC EN JAMBE"

ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

ABOUT 1637

PERSEUS AND ANDROMEDA

PRADO, MADRID

ABOUT 1639

FORTUNE
PRADO, MADRID
1637

FORTUNE
MUSEUM, BERLIN
ABOUT 1636

GANYMEDE
PRADO, MADRID
1637

SATURN
PRADO, MADRID
1637

PERSEUS AND ANDROMEDA

EX OSUNA COLLECTION (MESSRS. P. AND D. COLNAGHI, LONDON)

1636-1637

FLORA

PRADO, MADRID

1637

DIANA AND ENDYMION

EX OSUNA COLLECTION (MESSRS. P. AND D. COLNAGHI, LONDON)

1636-1637

THE MILKY WAY
PRADO, MADRID
1637

ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE

PRADO, MADRID

1637

THE TIMBER WAGGON

COLLECTION OF LORD NORTHBROOK, LONDON

1630-1636

MERCURY AND ARGUS

ROYAL MUSEUM, BRUSSELS

ABOUT 1636

MERCURY

PRADO, MADRID

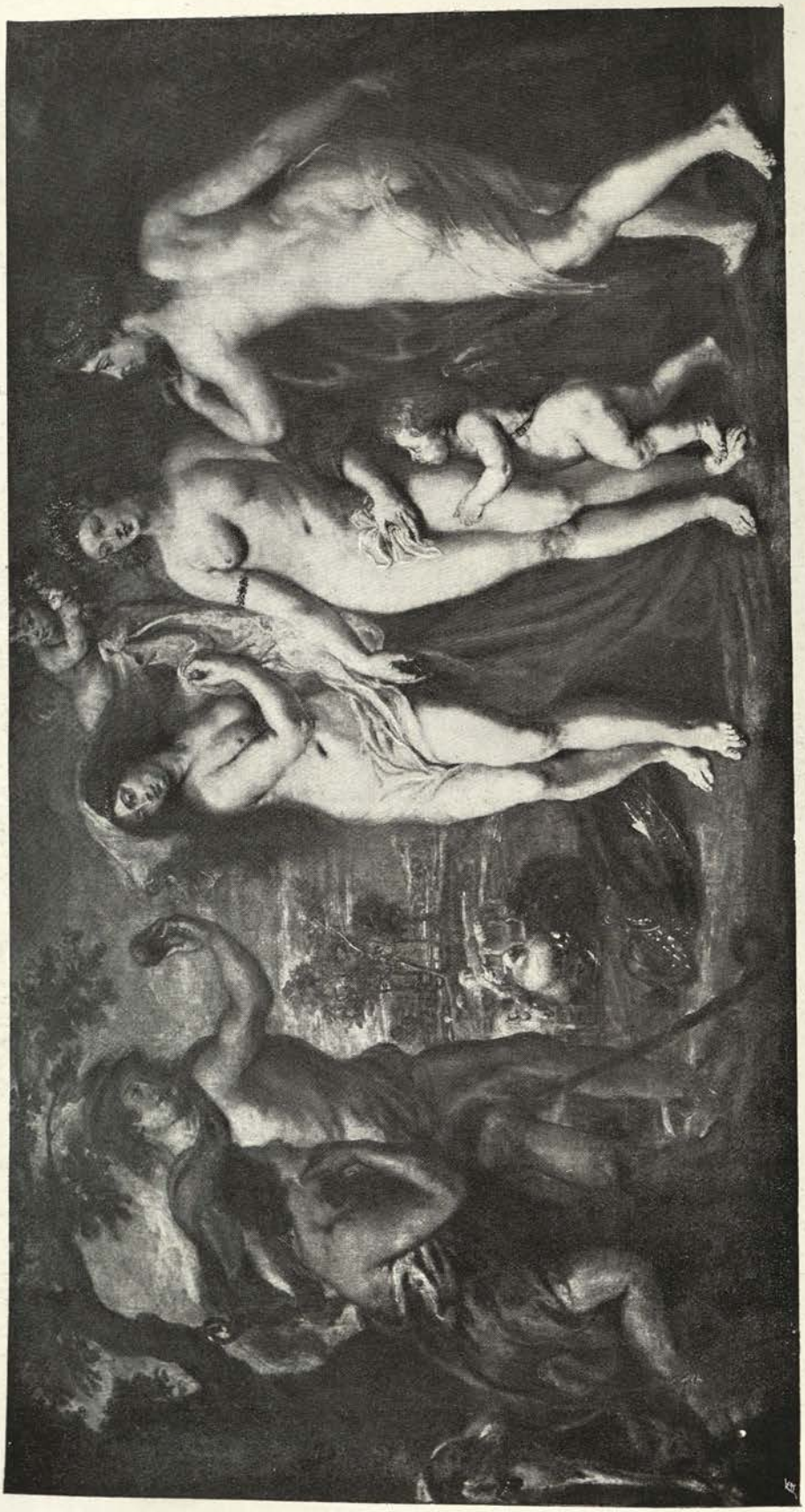
1637

MERCURY AND ARGUS
PRADO, MADRID
1637

MERCURY AND ARGUS

ROYAL GALLERY, DRESDEN

ABOUT 1638



THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS

PRADO, MADRID

1638

THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE

PRADO, MADRID

1637

THE BANQUET OF TEREUS
PRADO, MADRID
1637

DIANA AND HER NYMPHS PURSUED BY SATYRS

PRADO, MADRID

ABOUT 1638

BACCHUS SEATED ON A WINE-CASK

HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG

1635-1639

THE THREE GRACES

PRADO, MADRID

ABOUT 1639

AN OLD PRIEST

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

1635-1638

ST. ANDREW

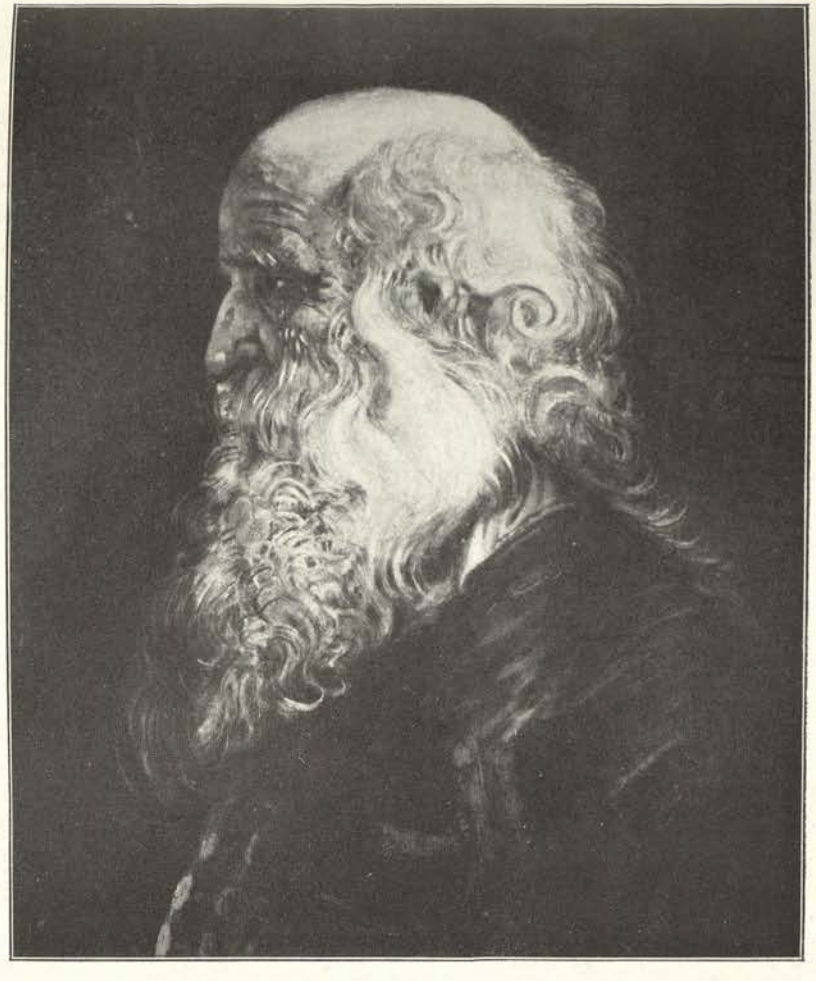
HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

1635-1638

ST. JEROME AS CARDINAL

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

ABOUT 1638



HEAD OF AN OLD MAN

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

ABOUT 1638

ST. AUGUSTINE
RUDOLFINUM, PRAGUE
ABOUT 1638

THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. THOMAS

RUDOLFINUM, PRAGUE

ABOUT 1638

THE CRUCIFIXION OF ST. PETER

ST. PETER'S CHURCH, COLOGNE

ABOUT 1638

THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN

LIECHTENSTEIN GALLERY, VIENNA

1638

PORTRAIT OF RUBENS

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

ABOUT 1638

DESIGN FOR A TRIUMPHAL CAR

MUSEUM, ANTWERP

1638

THE SUPPER AT EMMAUS

PRADO, MADRID

ABOUT 1638

ST. CECILIA

MUSEUM, BERLIN

ABOUT 1638

THE FLEMISH KERMESSE

LOUVRE, PARIS

ABOUT 1636

DANCE OF ITALIAN PEASANTS (THE RONDO)

PRADO, MADRID

ABOUT 1639

LANDSCAPE WITH CARRIER'S CART ON STONY ROAD (LA CHARRETTE EMBOURBÉE)

HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG

1625-1635

LANDSCAPE WITH ULYSSES AND NAUSICAA

PITTI, FLORENCE

1625-1635

HARVEST LANDSCAPE WITH RAINBOW

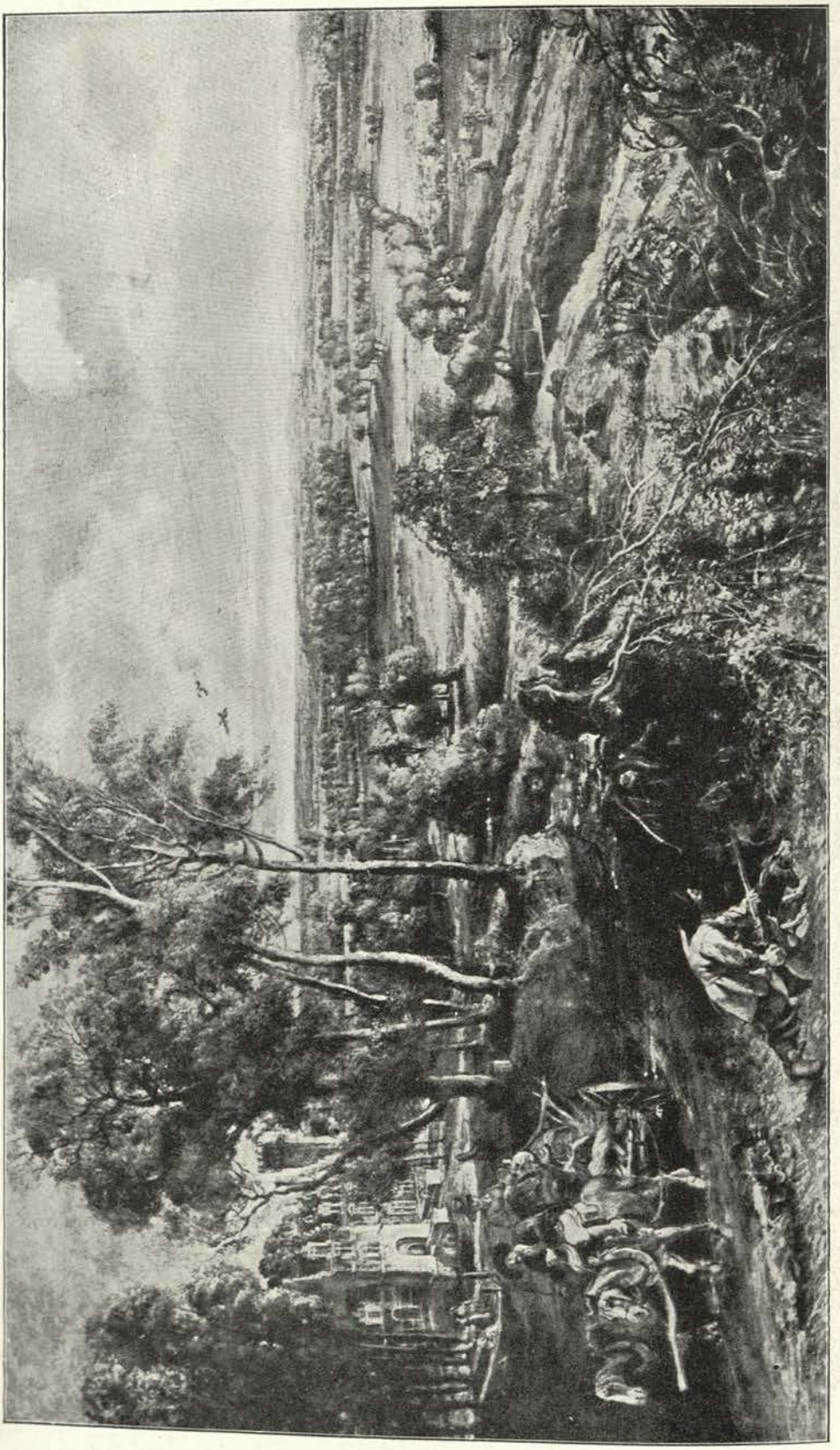
ALTE PINAKOTHEK, MUNICH

ABOUT 1636

HARVEST LANDSCAPE WITH RAINBOW

WALLACE COLLECTION, LONDON

ABOUT 1636



LANDSCAPE WITH THE CHÂTEAU DE STEEN, AUTUMN

NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON

ABOUT 1636

THE RETURN FROM THE FIELDS

PITTI, FLORENCE

1635-1638

AUTUMN SUNSET
NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON
ABOUT 1636

LANDSCAPE BY MOONLIGHT

COLLECTION OF DR. L. MOND, LONDON

1635-1638

TOURNAMENT BY THE MOAT OF A CASTLE (STEEN)

LOUVRE, PARIS

1636-1639

LANDSCAPE WITH A TOWER (STEEN)

MUSEUM, BERLIN

1636-1639

WOODED LANDSCAPE WITH THE CALYDONIAN BOAR
ROYAL MUSEUM, BRUSSELS
1630-1639

STORMY LANDSCAPE WITH PHILEMON AND BAUCIS

HOFMUSEUM, VIENNA

ABOUT 1638

THE HOLY FAMILY

ABOUT 1635

MESSRS. DUVEEN (EX DUKE OF SUTHERLAND)

THE THREE GRACES

NATIONAL MUSEUM, STOCKHOLM

ABOUT 1620

THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. LIÉVIN

ROYAL MUSEUM, BRUSSELS

ABOUT 1635

VIRGIN WITH SAINTS

CHURCH OF ST. JACQUES, ANTWERP

ABOUT 1637

LANDSCAPE. AUTUMN MORNING

LOUVRE, PARIS

1636-1639

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